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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Volume Four JUNE, 1912 Number Two

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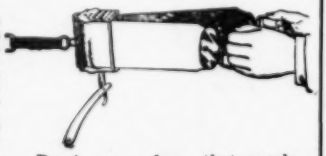

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THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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Dr. Booker T. Washington, Tuskegee Institute, Ala., says:

"I am really surprised, as well as gratified, at the fine piece of work you have gotten out. I had no idea you were going to get up such an artistic production, that is so attractive and so creditable."

The New York *Age*, New York City, says:

"Every home and classroom should honor one of these portraits, and into the mind of every child it should be grafted with the lines from the immortal poem of Longfellow: 'Lives of great men all remind us, we can make our lives sublime.'"

Dr. York Russell, New York City, says:

"Your artistic production of 'Our Heroes of Destiny' is unquestionably the master composition which has thus far chronicled the advent in perpetuating faithful likenesses of our hero-pioneers. The other nine series with which you propose to follow this will establish a precedent that will be of historic value in future years for yet unborn generations."

Rev. Dr. Reverdy C. Ransom, New York City, says:

"Your splendid production of 'Our Heroes of Destiny' marks the era of perpetuating characteristic and faithful likenesses of the famous men and women of our own race, to be handed down to younger generations, inspiring them with ideals which if carefully nurtured in their young lives will in their mature ages prove excellent examples of pure and dignified manhood and womanhood.

"No home where there is a child should be without a copy of this excellent work, and no parent that feels the love and loyalty of higher race development should fail to teach the children of their homes the meaning of the lives of these five men."

Major Charles R. Douglass, Washington, D. C., says:

"The likenesses and character blending in the selected gravure portraits of the group of 'Honorables' are better than any I have yet seen; and to those of our race who cherish the memories of these men they will be eagerly sought."

Mrs. B. K. Bruce, Washington, D. C., says:

"I am indeed glad to say that 'Our Heroes of Destiny' is the most creditable work of art that has yet been produced of and for our people. The life likeness of the entire group is exceedingly good. It is a fitting memorial worthy to be in every home.

"If we are to perpetuate the memories of our own great men, it must be by keeping their portraits ever before our youth, and familiarizing them with the true meaning of their lives."

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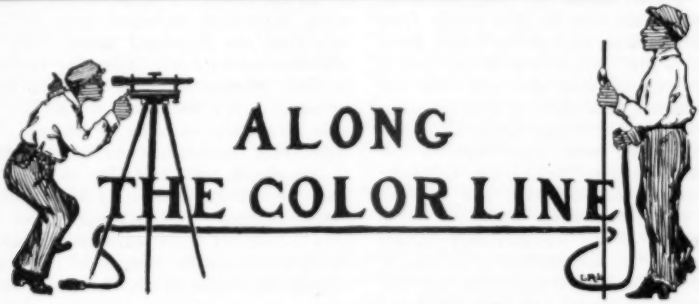
Volume Four JUNE, 1912 Number Two



POLITICAL.

THERE are in the United States 26,999,151 males of voting age. Nine and one-tenth per cent. of these are of Negro descent.

¶ In a speech before the City Club of Chicago recently, the effect of Negro disfranchisement in the South upon the general political situation was emphasized. Nearly one-third of the members of the national nominating conventions come from the South, and are elected by undemocratic methods. It was said that less than 150,000 voters in Georgia and Alabama can nullify the million and a quarter voters in a State like Illinois.

¶ Northern Negro voters are pressing for elective offices. In St. Louis a colored man is trying to get into the city council and has some chance because of the factions among whites. William R. Page, a colored real estate man of Atlantic City, is in the field for election as delegate to the National Republican Convention.

¶ The Atlanta *Georgian* says: "J. O. Cochran, secretary of the county Democratic executive committee, declares to-day that a meeting of the subcommittee will be called at once to consider throwing out the vote of a Negro which was cast at the second ward voting place in the primary Wednesday. It is not known for whom the Negro voted, but Mr. Cochran says whether he is a Democrat or not had nothing to do with his right to cast a ballot, as a strictly white primary was being held."

¶ About 700 colored women of San Francisco who are registered voters are forming a Taft Republican League. They are "remembering Brownsville."

¶ At a meeting of 250 colored voters of New Jersey it was declared that the conference went on record as opposed to the endorsement of any candidate for the Presidency, for United States Senator or Representative in Congress "until they and each of them pledge to the colored voters of the country and the State representatives pledge to the colored voters of this State a plank in the national platform of his or their party against lynching, disfranchisement or any law encroaching or violating the sacred rights of citizenship, supported by a message from the President and executed by an enactment of Congress giving the United States Supreme Court power to enforce all rights guaranteed by the said Federal Constitution."

¶ An anti-Roosevelt meeting has been held by the colored citizens of Boston.

¶ W. C. Matthews, a colored lawyer, has been sworn in as Special Assistant District Attorney of Boston.

¶ The Republican State Committee of Delaware has one colored member-at-large. At the recent convention a resolution to appoint four colored members was laid on the table.

¶ Mrs. James Bennett, of Richmond, Ky., a Southern white woman, said before a committee on woman's suffrage of the

United States Senate: "Our Revolutionary fathers wrote the first article of our Federal Constitution in such a way that it conferred upon black men and white and black women a legal right to vote for members of the United States House of Representatives along with white men in New Jersey from the time that State entered the Union, about 1779, until 1807, and in such a way that it now confers upon black men and white and black women a legal right to vote for members of the United States House of Representatives along with white men in the States of Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, Colorado, Washington and California, and I think that if our Congressmen will now follow this example of our Revolutionary fathers by recommending the adoption of an amendment of our Federal Constitution that will confer upon black men and upon white and black women a legal right to vote for United States Senators along with white men in our State, they will elevate themselves in the opinion of God and man."

On the other hand, agitation for woman's suffrage in Arkansas has brought out the race issue and strong opposition to advocating the vote for colored women has been developed.

THE CHURCH.

THE twenty-fifth general conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church convened in Allen Chapel, Kansas City, May 6. 700 delegates were present and the Right Reverend Henry M. Turner, senior bishop, presided. The Episcopal address by Bishop C. S. Smith noted that during the quadrennial four bishops and two general officers had died. The address recommended among other things that the salaries of general officers be increased from $1,350 to $1,500 a year; that the centennial of the church be celebrated in 1916 and a centennial fund instituted, and that four new bishops be elected.

¶ The twenty-fourth general conference of the African Zion Church convened in Charlotte, N. C., May 1. There were 500 delegates in attendance. The Right Reverend J. W. Hood, senior bishop, presided. Two new bishops may be elected. During the past four years more than a half million dollars has been raised for the church.

¶ At the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held in Minneapolis, the question of the election of colored bishops was precipitated very early in the conference. The Reverend William J. Lucas, a colored Mississippian, gained the floor and said: "We need Episcopal support in the far South. I doubt if any 325,000 white Methodists anywhere have as little help from the Episcopal board. We are told that we have our Episcopal residence in New Orleans, and that we have to be contented. We were, but we ain't. We make no threats, we make no demands. We believe that the heart of our white brothers of this church beats right for us. In four years we have not had thirty days of Episcopal residence. If this keeps up we will have to look our blue-eyed white brothers in the face and ask for fair play." A special commission on the subject was appointed.

¶ The American Bishops' Home Mission Society expended $132,000 on Negro education in the last year and $6,000,000 in the last fifty years.

¶ The colored Cumberland Presbyterian Church has been admitted to the Council of the Reformed Churches of America.

¶ The Plymouth Congregational Church of Charleston, S. C., has a fourteen-room parsonage and owns property valued at $20,000 in a fine residence part of the city. In a recent rally $1,185 was raised, and the church was cleared of all indebtedness. Gas heaters have been put in and electric lights are soon to be installed. Rev. A. L. DeMond is the pastor.

SOCIAL UPLIFT.

THE last census figures show that Negro illiteracy has decreased as follows:

1870—79.9% ——————————————————
1880—70% ——————————————
1890—57.1% ————————————
1900—44.4% ——————————
1910—30.5% ————————

¶ The present illiteracy of colored people in the United States is shown by the following figures:

NEGRO POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, 1910.

	Total	Illiterate. Number	Illiterate. Per cent.
Continental United States	7,318,502	2,228,087	30.4
South Atlantic	2,986,936	969,432	32.5
East South Central ..	1,960,898	681,507	34.8
West South Central ..	1,460,705	483,022	33.1

The efforts of certain States to stop Negro education are shown by the following

figures which give the per cent. of Negro illiteracy:

Louisiana	48.4%
Florida	40.1%
South Carolina	38.7%
Georgia	36.5%
Mississippi	35.6%

Texas, on the other hand, with its fairer treatment of colored children shows 24.6% of illiteracy, and the District of Columbia 13.5%.

¶ The assessed valuation of property returned for taxation by Negroes in Georgia, in 1911, is $34,022,379, as compared to $32,234,037 in 1910. The year's gain was $1,788,342.

The 1911 tax digests show that 119,871 Negroes paid poll taxes, and that 4,685 defaulted.

Negroes of that State own 1,639,919 acres of improved land, with an assessment valuation of $10,358,653. Their city and town property is taxed at $9,615,604; stocks and bonds, $1,700; money and solvent debts, $237,214; merchandise, $240,444; household and kitchen furniture, $3,249,203; watches, silver plate and jewelry, $41,970; horses, mules, hogs, sheep, cattle, etc., $7,931,264; plantations and mechanical tools, $1,648,-897; value of all other property, $377,479.

¶ Colored people of Louisiana and Mississippi and Arkansas are suffering severely from the flood. Of the 100,000 reported to be homeless, 90,00 are colored.

¶ Governor Blease, the present governor of South Carolina, who is of the same ilk as Tillman, Vardaman, Davis and Hoke Smith has been defeated for renomination in the primary election.

¶ The colored people of Richmond, Va., have begun a campaign to raise $30,000 for a hospital.

¶ Nashville is establishing a colored library and the librarian of the Savannah colored branch writes us that the city council has provided $1,200 a year toward a Carnegie library if the colored people will buy a suitable site.

¶ The first colored master electrician has qualified in Nashville, Tenn.

¶ The various movements for civic improvements are noted this month. In Savannah, Ga., and in Nashville, Tenn., the colored people are asking for better sanitary conditions. In New Orleans they want the degrading social clubs closed up and a law against concubinage. In Chattanooga, Tenn., a high death rate of the colored people is leading them to ask for investigation.

¶ The movement for the protection of colored girls in New York City is growing. One of the speakers at a recent meeting said: "Prejudice has so blinded the management of our protective institutions as to make it impossible for a colored girl to receive any consideration. While I know many of these institutions are private, sectarian, or supported by various organizations, I fail to see the difference between a white criminal and a colored one, between a white delinquent girl and a colored one. Even the State institutions seem inadequate to the emergency where colored girls are concerned. I think the time has come when the women of our race should take the initiative in the matter of erecting a home for such girls. Many of these unfortunates are worth saving, while the rest of them, who are a millstone around the necks of self-respecting citizens, should be kept by force off our streets and thoroughfares."

¶ Governor Harmon has appointed a colored physician, Dr. Philip N. Johnson, as first lieutenant of the medical corps in the Ohio National Guard.

¶ President Taft, while in Savannah, visited the Colored State Industrial College, of which R. R. Wright is president. He also met the mayor of the colored town of Burroughs.

¶ A Japanese has been elected to membership in the New York Cotton Exchange.

¶ A Southern Sociological Congress has met in Nashville and carried out a program which was announced as follows:

"The Southern Sociological Congress is a challenge to the white race to prove its superior civilization by a greater degree of kindness and justice to an inferior race. Is it not high time Southerners were seriously studying the following subjects?"

"Needs of the Negro That the South Must Meet," Dr. J. H. Dillard, President Jeanes Board and Secretary of Slater Board, New Orleans, La.

"The Negro and Crime," Judge W. H. Thomas, Montgomery, Ala.

"The Negro and Public Health," Dr. Seale Harris, Secretary Southern Medical Association, Mobile, Ala.

"The Contagion That Knows No Color Line," Rev. John Little, Louisville, Ky.

"The Negro and the New South," Dr. W. D. Weatherford, Student Secretary International Committee of the Y. M. C. A., Nashville, Tenn.

¶ Among 400 families who were represented at a farmers' conference at Fort Valley, Ga., the following facts were gleaned: The families averaged seven children each. Fifteen per cent. were land owners averaging 145 acres each. Fifty-two per cent. were renters averaging 87½ acres each, for which they paid an average of $252.50 per annum. Twenty-seven per cent. were croppers—"working on halves." Six per cent. were wage hands. Of the 35,120 acres under cultivation by land owners, renters and share croppers there were 18,680 acres in cotton; 10,200 acres in corn; 5,400 acres in peas; 440 acres in potatoes; 340 acres in oats; 200 acres in wheat.

¶ The seventh annual meet of the Interscholastic Athletic Association took place on the campus of Howard University on Decoration Day.

¶ The late Benjamin Guggenheim, who went down with the "Titanic," left a bequest of $5,000 to the Colored Orphan Asylum, New York City.

EDUCATION.

THE following letter has been received by the editor of THE CRISIS from the students of the University of South Carolina:

Sir: A marked copy of your paper, THE CRISIS, was received by the librarian of the University of South Carolina, in which you paralleled an article written by yourself on the Freedmen's Bureau with an article on the same subject by Mr. Colin W. Covington, of this university. The matter has been dealt with by the honor committee of the student body and that committee feels that you are due a statement of its findings.

At the end of the essay as published in the *State*, and as submitted for competition in the contest, Mr. Covington added a bibliography in which credit was given to the article in the *Atlantic Monthly*. This fact, together with attendant circumstances which were carefully looked into but need not be set out here, the committee accepted as evidence of the fact that there was no flagrant effort to deceive. The committee therefore did not deal with Mr. Covington in a summary manner, although it did not hold him blameless. The medal was surrendered by Mr. Covington upon the statement of the committee that his work did not warrant the award.

Yours truly,

ALLAN JOHNSTONE, JR.,
For the committee.

¶ A colored boy, Macolm C. Banks, of Boston, was not only elected captain of his military company in the public schools, but also lieutenant-colonel of the 3d regiment of the Boston School cadets.

¶ The Penn School of St. Helena's Island, S. C., the oldest school for Negroes in the South, has celebrated its fiftieth anniversary.

¶ Meharry Medical College has had its annual commencement, and graduates 114 physicians, dentists, pharmacists and trained nurses.

¶ The Howard University Medical School is a regular member of the Association of Medical Schools and is not classed in the "Jim Crow" annex mentioned in THE CRISIS some months ago.

¶ The forty-fourth anniversary of Hampton Institute has been celebrated. There were forty graduates of the academic department.

¶ The faculty of the new Tennessee A. and I. State Normal School for Colored Students has been selected. Among those chosen are three graduates of Atlanta University, three graduates of Fisk, one graduate of Hampton, one graduate of Howard and two graduates of Northern Universities.

¶ Bedford, Va., has 1,400 white people and 1,100 colored people. The State has a uniform examination for all teachers, but in Bedford the white high school, which runs nine months in a year, trains white teachers for this examination. There is no colored high school, and consequently it is practically impossible for colored people to qualify as first-grade teachers. The school board is planning a $30,000 school building for the whites, while the cost of the colored school building, including ground, was $4,500.

¶ Dr. D. K. Pearsons has recently died. He gave millions to higher education among the whites, but nothing to colored colleges.

MUSIC AND ART.

A REMARKABLE concert was given in Carnegie Hall, New York, by the new Music School Settlement. The critic of the New York *Press* said: "If the orchestra of the Clef Club, a large body of Negro players, under the direction of James Reese Europe, had not occupied the whole stage of Carnegie Hall last night the concert given there for the benefit and under the auspices of the Music School Settlement for Colored People would have drawn an even larger audience than that which greeted the great Hebrew cantor, Sirota, on his first appearance here. The immense auditorium was packed to its very limit with folk both white and black, and outside on the sidewalk and in the lobby a mob clamored in vain for admission.

"White folk, of whom there was a large percentage in the crowd, enjoyed the experience quite as much as the Negroes. Among them were many musicians by profession. To hear that multitude of music makers, manipulating banjos, mandolins, guitars, violins, 'cellos, double basses and pianos, with extraordinary rhythmical precision and contagious swing, to listen to the voices of those spirited players mingling in robust harmony with the big, resonant body of instrumental sound, was indeed a novel and original sensation. No wonder the crowd burst into tumultuous applause after the lilting Negro melody, 'Swing, 'long chillun, swing 'long de lane,' written by Will Marion Cook, leader of the Clef Club Chorus.

¶ Mr. William E. Scott, a colored graduate of the Indianapolis public schools, has had some of his paintings accepted for the spring exhibit of the Paris Salon. Scott studied in the Chicago Art Studio for three years, and is now in the studio of the great colored artist, Tanner.

¶ In England the Musical Society of Horsham, the Lavender Hill Choral Society of Wadsworth and the Choral Union of Birmingham have lately presented a number of earlier works of S. Coleridge-Taylor, including "The Blind Girl of Castél Guillé" and the "Bon-bon Suite." The audiences were large and enthusiastic. Mr. Coleridge-Taylor's new cantata, "A Tale of Old Japan," is being performed throughout England with great success.

The London *Musical Times* says: "Mr. Coleridge-Taylor's 'A Tale of Old Japan' is a beautiful work which fully sustains the composer's reputation. He has attained an even surer touch of constructive thought, emotion and expression. The orchestral part is inventive and resourceful. The cantata given by the Festival Choral Society at Birmingham, under the composer's direction, secured for Mr. Coleridge-Taylor a veritable triumph." The reviewers add: "His part writing is always grateful and in his orchestration he seems more than ever to have embodied some fascinating touches of local color which is always a characteristic of his art. At the close of the concert Mr. Coleridge-Taylor was the recipient of an ovation."

¶ Mr. Harry T. Burleigh, baritone and composer, of New York, was the soloist at the concert given April 24 by the Amphion Club, of Melrose, Mass. An interesting number on the program was Mr. Burleigh's setting of Kipling's "Mother o' Mine," which was sung by the club.

¶ On April 1 at Washington, D. C., at the fourth of a series of artists' recitals given by the Washington Conservatory of Music, was heard Miss Nellie Moore, pianist, of New York, assisted by Mr. Felix Weir, violinist. Miss Moore received her musical education at the New York College of Music and is a pupil of Leopold Wolfsohn.

¶ Miss Helen Eugenia Hagan, pianist, Miss Jessie Estelle Muse, soprano, and Mr. Roland W. Hayes, tenor, assisted by Mrs. Gabrielle Lewis Pelham, accompanist, gave much pleasure when they were heard in concert on April 12 at Washington, D. C. They presented a long and interesting program, comprising numbers from Liszt, Chopin, MacDowell, Burleigh, Mendelssohn and Puccini. Miss Hagan and Miss Muse are students of the Yale Conservatory of Music at New Haven.

¶ On April 17, before a large and enthusiastic audience, a concert was given in Steinert Hall, Boston, Mass., by Mr. Roland W. Hayes, the admired young tenor, Mr. Wm. H. Richardson, baritone, Mr. Clarence Cameron White, violinist, and Mr. Charles J. Harris, pianist. Mr. Hayes, a former member of the Fisk University Quartet, came to Boston a year ago, when his remarkably fine tenor voice won for him the opportunity for further study under one of Boston's most noted vocalists.

Mr. Richardson is a well-known church and concert singer of Boston and has had the advantage of study under the best private teachers. He possesses a fine voice of beautiful quality which he uses with freedom and skill.

PERSONAL.

THE Carnegie Hero Fund Commission has awarded Nathan Duncan a gold medal and $2,000 for heroism. Duncan worked for hours forty feet below the surface of the earth to rescue a man who had been buried alive by the caving in of a well.

¶ Lockett, a Negro fireman on the Georgia Midland Railway, rescued a child from death the other day by diving from his engine and throwing her off the track.

¶ Miss Laura Jones, a colored girl of Mobile, with a torn skirt flagged an inbound passenger train and prevented it from running into a dangerous washout.

¶ Emanuel Jackson, a wealthy colored man of Pittsburgh, is dead. He conducted a livery and undertaking business.

¶ Jerry Buckner, the first colored policeman of Parkersburg, W. Va., is dead.

¶ Walter F. Giles, former physical-culture instructor of Fisk University and of the public schools of Baltimore, is now in charge of physical culture in the public schools of St. Louis.

¶ The Reverend C. T. Walker is about to build an institutional church for colored people in Augusta, Ga.

THE GHETTO.

A MAJORITY of Southern cities achieve separation of white and Negro passengers in street cars by assigning them to different seats, or by the use of movable screen partitions. Montgomery, Ala., stands alone in unqualifiedly requiring separate cars for whites and Negroes. North Carolina forbids white and Negro passengers occupying contiguous seats on the same bench. Virginia prohibits their sitting side by side unless all other seats are filled. In a number of cities the white passengers must enter and leave the car by a different platform than that used by the Negroes. Practically without exception the white patrons are given the front of the car and the Negroes the rear.

It is generally found that conductors have police power to eject or arrest wilfully disobedient or refractory passengers, and in some few cities policemen on the cars are required to take cognizance of any violations of the law. Penalties upon the conductors for failure to observe the laws vary from $1 in Montgomery to $500 in Jacksonville, or imprisonment from one to ninety days.

¶ Efforts to bar colored residents are reported in sections of Washington and in St. Louis. From St. Louis it is reported that the first Negro moved to Cook Avenue lately, taking possession of 4004 Cook Avenue. That night the house was bombarded with stones and several windows were broken. When the police were summoned they arrested Robert Watson, a Negro, who was patrolling the street, on the charge of carrying concealed weapons. He soon was released. The house at 4000 Cook Avenue has also been bought by a colored woman, Mrs. May Crawford, wife of a Pullman porter, and 4008 Cook Avenue has been bought by Mrs. Sadie Lyle, another colored woman, whose husband is a barber at Jefferson Avenue and Pine Street. These have not yet moved in.

COURTS.

THE question of the right of the colored Knights of Pythias to keep their name has been argued before the Supreme Court of the United States, Alton B. Parker of New York representing the Negroes.

¶ The disfranchisement cases in Oklahoma, where two election supervisors were convicted of conspiracy in preventing Negroes from voting for a Congressman, came up in the Court of Appeals in St. Louis, May 22d.

¶ John Mingo, a colored man who was carrying a hatchet which he had been using in his work, was pursued through the streets of New York by a mob last fall. He met a policeman and the policeman deliberately shot him and charged him with felonious assault. When the case came up recently Mingo was acquitted, and the Vigilance Committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is bringing charges against the policeman.

¶ Lynn, the Arkansas farmer who killed three Negroes recently, was tried and the jury failed to agree upon a verdict. Lynn asked to be admitted to bail, but this was denied by the lower court. He is now appealing to the Supreme Court of the State.

¶ At Peoria, Ill., a Greek who refused to serve soda water to a colored man was fined $25.

¶ At Birmingham, Ala., Charles Burden, a colored man, was charged with assault with intent to murder two years ago. The jury found him guilty and sentenced him to fifteen years in the penitentiary. His case was taken to the Supreme Court, was reversed on a technicality, and on the second trial he was fined $1 and released.

¶ In St. Louis a colored man was convicted for stealing a purse last December and was sentenced to five years in the penitentiary. His story, however, made a strong impression on the judge; his case was investigated and finally the verdict of the jury was set aside and he was dismissed.

¶ A woman lawyer charged in a New York court that colored people are discriminated against on the jury lists and demanded that her colored client have his race represented on the jury.

¶ At Macon, Ga., a colored man has filed suit for damages against the local ice and coal company. He charges that he was threatened with illegal arrest and then forced to pay $2 a week to the company out of his wages. He paid $60 and then sued the company.

¶ The judge of a municipal court at Gary, Ind., has decided that Negroes can be debarred from poolrooms.

CRIME.

AFTER an expenditure of $10,106.30 by the county of Chester, the persons accused of lynching Zach. Walker on August 13, 1911, have all been set free. Six men were acquitted last fall. Then the commonwealth sought a change of venue, which was denied. Another man was recently acquitted and the State thereupon asked for the acquittal of the other five accused men. Judge Butler made a scathing address from the bench in which he deplored the condition of the public mind in Chester County. He regarded the outcome of the trial as a public calamity in law and order in the State.

¶ The following lynchings have taken place since our last record:

At Shreveport, La., Tom Miles was lynched for "sending an insulting note" to a white girl. He had been tried by the court, released and then killed by a mob. It is rumored that a companion, S. McIntyre, was also lynched, but his body has not been found.

At Yellowpine, La., a colored boy of 19 was whipped for writing "several letters to ladies in a suggestive manner." He was ordered to leave town, but refused and was lynched. Another report was that the insults were sent over the telephone.

At Jackson, Ga., Henry Etheridge was lynched for being active in securing recruits for a colony to Africa.

At Greenville, Miss., an unknown Negro was lynched in a cemetery for an alleged attack upon a white woman. Two policemen were shot during the mêlée.

At Columbus, Miss., George Edd, a field hand, wounded a woman planter and her son with a shotgun. He was lynched twenty-four hours later.

At Monroe, La., trouble attributed "to the surliness and impudence of Negro flood refugees" led to a lynching. A press report continues: "Yesterday several Negroes were playing a slot machine in a store at Delhi when an officer stepped up and put a penny in the machine. With an oath, a Negro is alleged to have stepped up and tried to put the officer out, declaring 'I'se playing dat machine.' After the white man had given the Negro a good beating the latter is said to have threatened violence to white people in Delhi. During the night a crowd gathered, caught the Negro and lynched him." Later a regiment of white militia was sent to the spot.

¶ At Fort Smith, Ark., the grand jury, who have been investigating the lynching of Sanford Lewis, returned indictments against twenty-three persons.

¶ Mobs are threatening lynchings in Valdosta, Ga., and in Humboldt, Tenn. In the latter place, after a Negro had been nearly killed, it was found that he was the wrong man.

¶ The colored people of Hempstead, Tex., have offered a reward of $500 for persons assaulting a Negro family.

¶ Two young white men in Reidsville, Ga., are charged with killing a colored man, and a white man at Tifton, Ga., is held for the murder of a colored man.

¶ A typical case is reported from Hot Springs, Ark. George Brown, a colored waiter, found a white business man in company with his young daughter. He was prevented from killing the man by an officer. He threatened, it is said, to kill the officer. At any rate, the officer shot and killed him.

¶ Thirteen men are under indictment at Walnut Ridge, Ark., for dynamiting Negro homes and trying to drive out Negro workingmen.

¶ Colored men have been shot by officers in Richmond, Va., Thomasville, N. C., Rocky Mount, N. C., and Louisville, Ky.

¶ A fifteen-year-old colored boy has been sentenced to five years in State's prison for stealing at Jacksonville, Fla.

¶ Maier Schwartz, the young white boy who wilfully murdered an old Negro hack driver in Natchez, Miss., last December, was proven guilty and sentenced to serve the rest of his natural life in the penitentiary by Judge Brown, in whose court he was tried. The judge said the verdict will show the law-abiding citizens of Adams County that they can get protection in the courts.

¶ All but two of the rioters who a year or more ago killed a score of Negroes at Palestine, Tex., now have their freedom. It is hardly probable that these two will ever be brought to trial. The only satisfaction in the matter is that it has cost most of these rich men a large part of their fortunes to escape punishment.

FOREIGN.

SIR WALTER EGERTON, who has been governor of the amalgamated territories of Northern and Southern Nigeria longer than any of his predecessors, has been retired. His successor, the new governor-general, is Sir Frederick Lugard, who was at one time high commissioner of Northern Nigeria and was transferred from Hong Kong, China, to his new post. He and his estimable wife, who is the author of a valuable work on Nigeria, are well liked by native Africans.

¶ Lady Egerton is greatly interested in Dr. Sapara's Midwifery Training School, at Lagos, and before leaving the colony for England called a conference of women at Government House for the purpose of discussing, in conjunction with a few European ladies, ways and means of preventing the great loss of life in childbirth and the high rate of infant mortality. It is the intention of the government to establish a maternity home in Lagos, with a European matron, who will also be available for training natives as nurses and midwives.

¶ Education among the natives in South Africa is hampered by interference of the whites, according to the report of Bishop J. Albert Johnson.

"The twelve million natives are completely under the control of one million Europeans," the report stated. "Anything which tends to development of these ignorant peoples is looked on with suspicion by those in control. No institution is allowed to exist without a European head. This handicaps advancement of the people. Native educators are needed."

THE BAPTIST SUNDAY-SCHOOL CONGRESS.

ONE of the interesting meetings of the year is the colored Baptist Sunday School Congress. The first session of this congress was held in Nashville, Tenn., in 1906 and brought together an enthusiastic attendance from various States. In 1907 at New Orleans there was a still larger attendance, and in 1908 at Jacksonville, Fla., many of the Sunday-school experts of the United States were present and spoke. The next year the congress met at Atlanta and last year at Meridian, Miss. This year the congress will meet at Tuskegee, Ala., June 5 to 10. It is a sort of school of methods, five days being given to actual Sunday-school work. No motions are made and no debates indulged in. At the Meridian meeting of the congress the superintendent's department registered 400 members from twenty-six States, and there were more than 900 Sunday schools enrolled. The organization was founded by Dr. R. H. Boyd, who is at the head of the publishing department of the colored Baptists, and his son, Mr. Henry A. Boyd, is secretary. Reduced fares from all over the United States will be made for this summer's meeting, and a large attendance is expected.

MARY HOWARD JACKSON.

A BUST of the Rev. F. J. Grimke, now being exhibited in the Veerhoff Art Galleries at Washington, is the work of

MRS. MARY HOWARD JACKSON

Mrs. Mary Howard Jackson, wife of the head of the department of mathematics in the M Street High School. The bust has been praised by Washington art critics as "well constructed and skilfully modeled," and is another example of the talent the artist has already shown in a dozen or more pieces of sculpture.

Born in Philadelphia, Mrs. Jackson studied at Professor J. Liberty-Tadd's art school and later, having won a scholarship, at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. There she worked under Chase, Gerafly and Boyle; Professor Boyle especially was a source of great inspiration as well as of practical help. Mrs. Jackson thinks her best work is perhaps represented by her busts of the Rev. H. M. Joseph, Senator Hoar and Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois. She is now engaged on a study of Mr. W. H. Lewis, which will probably be exhibited in New York.

JAMES REESE EUROPE.

JAMES REESE EUROPE was born in Mobile, Ala., February 22, 1881. He descended from a musical family. Both his paternal and maternal ancestors, as far back

MRS. JACKSON'S BUST OF THE REV. F. J. GRIMKE

JAMES REESE EUROPE

as is ascertainable by the most diligent research, were musicians.

When he was a child his parents migrated from Mobile to Washington, D. C., where he was placed under the tutelage of Enrico Hurlei, assistant director of the United States Marine Band, as a student of the violin. At the age of 14 young Europe entered a contest in the national capital in music writing, and while he won only the second prize the first prize was awarded to his sister, Miss Mary Europe, of whom Coleridge-Taylor said: "She is a genius of dazzling brilliancy."

Mr. Europe devoted years of study to the theory and instrumentation of music with such well-known tutors as Hans Hanke, of the Leipzig Conservatory of Music, Melville Charlton and Henry C. Burleigh. His natural talent has been thoroughly trained.

It is as a musical director and composer that Mr. Europe is best known in the country. He toured the country as musical director for the Cole & Johnson and Williams & Walker companies, but recently he has devoted his time exclusively to writing instrumental numbers. Chief among his successes are his marches which are most inspiring. The New York *Tribune*, commenting upon them, said that "All in all they are well worthy of the pen of John Philip Sousa."

One of Mr. Europe's distinguishing characteristics is his genius for organization. He is the founder and first president of the famous Clef Club and the organizer of the Clef Club Symphony Orchestra, "one of the most remarkable orchestras in the world," as the *Evening Post* critic called it.

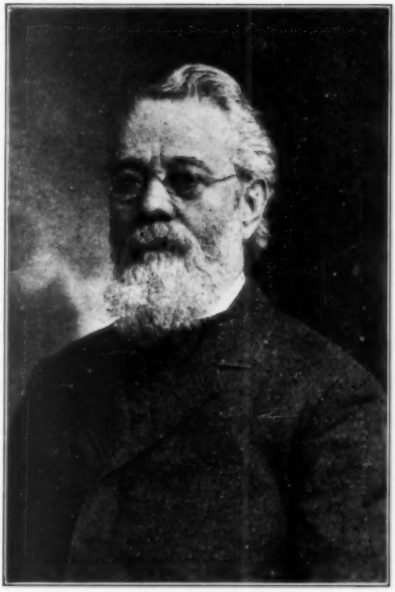
Fully to appreciate the worth of James Reese Europe to the Negro musicians of New York City, one would have to know how the Negro entertainers in cafés, hotels, at banquets, etc., were regarded before the organization of the Clef Club, and how they have been regarded since. Before, they were prey to scheming head waiters and booking agents, now they are performers whose salaries and hours are fixed by contract.

WILLIAM H. TYERS.

WILLIAM H. TYERS was born in Petersburg, Va., in 1870, but his parents moved to New York City. While a boy Tyers showed a remarkable genius for composition, and at the age of 17

WILLIAM H. TYERS

had composed quite a number of polkas, waltzes and so forth. In 1890 he toured Europe, as librarian in a musical company, and while in Germany he studied instrumentation under Gaspari. Ill-health compelled him to return to America, and since then he has devoted his entire time to composing, writing and arranging music. He has held positions as musical arranger in a number of the leading music-publishing houses of New York, and is said to be the best-trained musical arranger of his race. He has been in popular demand for years by some of the leading stars in many of the musical productions, to arrange their music. "Trocha" (a Cuban dance) was the first composition that made real fame for Tyers; it was played by the leading bands and orchestras of the country; since then he has written quite a number of other characteristic dances like the Dance Philippine, La Mariposa, La Coqueta, Maori and Panama. Mr. Tyers is assistant conductor of the Clef Club, and the New York *Evening Post* said of his latest composition as played at the recent Carnegie Hall concert: "Were the name of Strauss appended to the Tout à Vous waltz by Tyers it would be one of the most popular waltzes in the world to-day."



REV. JOHN THOMAS JENIFER

FIFTY YEARS OF SERVICE.

THE Rev. John Thomas Jenifer, who was recently retired by the Baltimore A. M. E. Conference after fifty years of service, is one of the most interesting figures in the Negro Church. He has combined great spirituality with genuine executive ability, and made a remarkable record wherever he was sent. He was born a slave in Maryland in 1835. In 1859 he escaped and went to New Bedford, Mass., where he worked to give himself an education. In 1862 the former slave, having a strong wish to enter the ministry, applied for, and received, license to preach. Before long he was sent to California and made one of the first class of Negro deacons consecrated by a Negro bishop on the Pacific Coast. Coming East again, he entered Wilberforce University. "In 1870," says Mr. Jenifer, "I was graduated from the first class of theological students (so far as I know) from a Negro college who were handed diplomas by a Negro president."

Mr. Jenifer went South, then to New England, then to Washington and Baltimore. There is, indeed, hardly any part of the country in which he has not worked. "I have traveled about 250,000 miles," he says, "been in every State of the Union except six, gone through Canada and Central America, preached more than 6,000 sermons, and gathered in, with many souls, about $250,000 in property and cash. I am sorry I could not do more."

The colored people of South Africa have sustained great loss in the death of D. J. Lenders, vice-president of the African Political Organization. Mr. Lenders had taken an active part in every movement to uplift the colored people.

He was one of the three colored delegates who went over to England two years ago to protest against the "Color Clause" in the Act of Union. But, besides this enormous sacrifice, he had, by his persistent protests against injustice, by his fearless advocacy for full political and civil rights to all, and by his unselfish and whole-hearted devotion to our cause, placed the colored people under a lasting obligation to him.

PRAISE FROM THE CHICAGO PRESS.

Part of the phenomenal success of the Chicago Conference must be attributed to the sympathy of the newspapers. Nearly every daily published in the city gave our association editorial commendation. We give a few words from our many clippings.

The *Tribune* has a thoughtful editorial on what it calls the chief of our national problems. "Wakeful, inquiring, energetic as we are with respect to all other pressing questions in our national experiment, as to this problem we of the North are indifferent. We do not realize that it is a grave national problem. We like to dismiss it as a sectional affair which we may safely and wisely leave to a section to settle.

"This fallacy is serious. We tried to leave the slavery question to the South. It would not, it could not be. Neither can we shirk a part in dealing with this present phase of the same question.

"The first step toward participation in the solution is acquaintance with conditions, and it is highly desirable that the associations concerned with efforts to study and aid the Negro should meet occasionally in the North for public discussion."

The *Record-Herald* also takes the view that what is most needed is a better knowledge of the facts. It expressed gratification at the forceful array of them presented at the conference and at the great progress the colored man was making in spite of prejudice.

"To impress the great public with these facts is to combat blind prejudice in the most effective way possible. At the same time there is plenty of work ahead for the white friends of humanity, righteousness and brotherhood. Lynchings must be fought and punished; the civil rights of the black man must be vigorously enforced; the drawing of the color line in educational institutions must be resisted."

The *Evening Post*, like the *Tribune*, calls the Negro problem the most serious facing the American people and one to which the country is singularly indifferent. "We have watched the spread of disfranchisement, of various types of discrimination measures and of even the complete breakdown of our legal machinery where it touched the colored man without appreciating the significance for ourselves of what we saw. Catchwords like 'leave it to the South where it belongs' have taken the place of any real thinking, in fact have closed our minds to the need of any real thinking."

Then, referring to the National Association, the *Post* points out that it is not a "missionary enterprise" but is "concerned with clearing the illegal and un-American and oppressive obstacles from the path of the race that is trying to rise," and concludes by urging the people of Chicago to attend the meetings, "hear some of the best minds in both races in the sincere and earnest discussion of this problem."

The *Daily News* thinks that only good can come of "this educational movement which seeks to correct the underlying conditions of which lynchings, race riots, Jim Crow cars, and injurious discriminations of many sorts are the outward and visible manifestations. "It ought to be plain," the *News* continues, "that the expressed antagonism in a civilized country toward the colored man is a denial of civilization and that as long as this antagonism continues civilization itself must suffer from its own blindness."

COATESVILLE'S DISGRACE.

The final failure of Chester County to convict anybody for complicity in the Coatesville lynching has been the subject of much press comment. The Allentown (Pa.) *News* says significantly:

"This complete miscarriage of law and order in a community that has been noted,

as a whole, for the average of its intelligence and public spirit, is not less remarkable in the history of Pennsylvania than the horrible event which Chester County justifies, or at least condones; and there is a deep meaning behind it in the relation today of the white race and the black race to each other in the United States."

The New York *Evening Post* takes the same view: "When the District Attorney had finally wrung a few confessions from some of the mob," it says, "a handful out of the hundreds, and had succeeded in getting twelve men indicted, he could get no jury to listen to his evidence. 'There is a deep-seated purpose on the part of the people of Chester County not to convict a white man for the murder of a Negro,' said Deputy Attorney-General Cunningham in his application, which was refused, for a change of venue."

The New York *Evening Sun* remarks that "when public opinion in Pennsylvania is at such an ebb, the whole country must be shocked by the facts and apprehensive of the consequences," while the *Tennessean American*, published in Nashville, deploring the result, adds: "At the moment we cannot recall a single instance where any man accused of participating in a lynching has been made to suffer legal penalty, save in the case of some of those who murdered a law and order detective in Ohio a year or more ago." This detective, it will be remembered, was white.

Where must the blame for the failure be put? The Brooklyn *Eagle* thinks it is divided. "If Governor Tener had proclaimed martial law, directed the wholesale arrests of suspected persons, removed the lukewarm prosecutor, and used the power that lies in his office, the disgrace would have been impossible. But this does not 'let out' the local authorities or the local jury. All are responsible. The commonwealth as a whole is responsible." The Pittsburgh *Dispatch* blames Coatesville only. "While we are chagrined at this exhibition of savagery and lawnessness within the borders of our commonwealth," it observes, "it is so manifestly out of keeping with the spirit of Pennsylvania that we can disown it." The *Gazette-Times*, of the same city, does not agree to this. "If Chester could be left to itself," it says, "in the discredit attaching to its shame it would merit all the ignominy that could be heaped upon it, but unfortunately the whole State will suffer in repute for the vicious influence exercised by perniciously active leaders in a community from which better things were expected."

The Philadelphia *Inquirer*, going into the psychology of the matter, suggests the motive that may have led to the acquittal. "There will be a disposition to assume that the jurors by the stand they took showed themselves in sympathy with the accused and condoned the crime they were charged with having committed. This may to some extent be true, but it is not the whole truth. It may be suspected that the jurors were actuated by motives much more complicated and less censurable than these. They probably felt that, inasmuch as it was impracticable to punish all who were participants in the Walker lynching, it was not fair or right to single out and punish the few who had been brought before them, and so they strained their consciences to let them go."

THE LESSON OF THE "TITANIC."

We have received from Mr. George Foster Peabody an editorial clipped from that excellent journal, the Chicago *Public*, and with it the following letter:

"May I request your careful reading of the enclosed editorial, 'The Lesson of the Titanic Disaster,' which seems to me to be worth reprinting in every paper. I am most earnestly desirous that your constituency shall have an opportunity to read it and I beg to state my most earnest hope that it may commend itself to you as worthy of reprinting in full at as early a date as convenient."

We cannot reproduce quite all the editorial which Mr. Peabody so justly commends, but we are glad to give our readers the greater part of it, for it is precisely to arouse the imagination of the indifferent that THE CRISIS exists. The *Public* says that the outburst of indignation at a tragedy that could have been averted is quite natural and is useful in so far as it may prevent the repetition of such a horror, but it thinks the disaster cannot be laid altogether to greed.

"Though greed may have played a part," continues the *Public*, "along with many another impulse, it could have been only on the surface. Greed does not run deep. This was proved by the truest of tests at the climax of the tragedy. At that supreme

moment when human souls were on trial the appeal to brotherhood was intuitive and overwhelming. Kiser's inspiring verse gives us the picture:

> Christian and Jew and humble and high,
> Master and servant, they stood at last
> Bound by a glorious brotherly tie.

"*At last!* But why only at last? Was the spirit of brotherhood absent before? Had greed crowded it out? Had consciousness of race or class made it insensible to every emotion but fear of death? This cannot be. Fear of death could not awaken a sense of brotherhood, fear of death could not make way for a democratic spirit to rise supreme—not if that sense, not if this spirit, were less powerful among human passions than selfishness. No; not selfishness but democracy is the power that moves mankind at every crisis. Yet there is an unhappy significance, unintended, it may be, but true, in Kiser's words—'at last.' Is it only 'at last,' then, only when Death duels with Life, that the brotherly tie becomes the tie that binds, the democratic instinct the instinct that triumphs?

"It may seem so. Daily tragedies to which the 'Titanic' disaster is by comparison a trifling incident make it seem so. These tragedies are due to the laws under which we live; they are the frightful price that all have to pay for the luxury of some; but as to them, where is the brotherly inspiration to drive away greed, where the democratic instinct to dethrone the instinct of self-love? Well may the question be asked, and hard enough may the finding of the answer be.

"It cannot be from any lack of the democratic instinct that beneficiaries of privilege are selfishly indifferent to the heartsickening perennial tragedies of our industrial life. Not very different can any of them be from those of their own class who went down with the 'Titanic.' If they are careless of the awful industrial tragedies, or cold toward them, it must be because their democracy is not awakened. On that doomed vessel, along with their brethren of all classes there, those children of privilege, face to face with the tragic, were as democratic and as brave as any. What they lack is not democracy but imagination.

"Let the privileged see the industrial tragedies they thrive upon, make them realize the tragical cost of their selfish luxury, and their icy greed will melt in the heat of their democracy. Real as their selfishness is, truly as it helps to make poverty and crime, it is no more basic or controlling with their class than with any other. Let their imaginations be fired, and they will feel their brotherhood and think of its responsibilities."

NEGROES OF GENIUS.

The Egyptian writer, Duse Mohammed, in an article published in T. P.'s *London Magazine*, goes at some length into the history of various colored men in Europe and America who have distinguished themselves as writers and musicians:

"It is rather a remarkable fact that three men of Ethiopian blood—Poushkin in Russia, Dumas in France and Coleridge-Taylor in England—should have added lustre, through their names, to the art of the countries that gave them birth. And what is true of Europe is still more remarkable in the land of the dollars. Dvorak once said that the Americans had no national music except that emanating from Negro melodies, and that it was to the Negro that the Americans would have to look for creative work in that direction.

"Quite recently Puccini, on his return to Europe after producing 'The Girl of the Golden West' in New York, although not going so far as Dvorak, also averred that the only music the Americans possessed was the Negro melodies.

"Alexander Sergeievich Poushkin, born in 1799 of a noble Russian family, on the paternal side had an Ethiopian grandfather, Alexander Dumas the elder, born 1802, was descended from an African grandmother from Haiti and a French nobleman. Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, born in London in 1875, is the son of a West African doctor and an English mother, and there is in America Will Marion Cook, with both maternal and paternal African forbears.

"Dumas did for French fiction what Sir Walter Scott accomplished in English literature, but while Scott's style is ponderous and for the most part tedious, like the tread of a lumbering elephant, Dumas' style is light and airy, like the gambol of a gazelle.

"Poushkin not only gave dignity to Russian poetry, but his prose works, which include such novels as 'The Captain's

Daughter' and 'Dubnovski,' and his 'History of the Pugatcheff Insurrection'—for which he received 20,000 rubles in 1883—gave Russian prose a literary perfection.

"Samuel Coleridge-Taylor's genius may be said to have asserted itself when, as a boy of six, Mr. Joseph Beckwith discovered him in Waddon New Road, Croydon, 'holding a very small-sized violin in one hand and playing at marbles with the other.' 'Hiawatha' was produced when Coleridge-Taylor was 23. He has been recently elected principal professor of musical composition at the Guildhall School of Music, London. For five years he has been, and still is, conductor of the Handel Society of London.

"Paul Laurence Dunbar, the pure-blooded Ethiopian poet, may be termed the Burns of the Negro race. William Dean Howells, in his introduction to Dunbar's 'Lyrics of Lowly Life,' says: 'What struck me in reading Mr. Dunbar's poetry was that, however gifted his race had proved itself in music, in oratory, in several of the other arts, here was the first instance of an American Negro who had evinced innate distinction in literature.'

"As long as the Ethiopian race shall continue to produce Coleridge-Taylors, Dunbars, Booker T. Washingtons, Du Boises, Blydens, Marion Cooks and others who have made an impression upon their age, whether in law, letters, music or the sister arts, so long will there be hope for the social, material and political advancement of the Ethiopian race."

"But if proof positive of a soul in the Negro people should be demanded," says Walter Damrosch in the *Southern Workman*, "it can be given, for they have brought over from Africa and developed in this country, even under all the unfavorable conditions of slavery, a music so wonderful, so beautiful, and yet so strange, that like the gypsy music of Hungary, it is at once the admiration and despair of educated musicians of our race. Unique and inimitable, it is the only music of this country, except that of the Indians, which can claim to be folk music. In it the Negroes pour out their joys and their sorrows in naive but wonderfully moving fashion; and in the face of such testimony of emotional and esthetical beauty, who dare deny them wider future possibilities in the great work of liberation of mind and soul which is now going on?"

"The *Telegraph*," says the Macon paper of that name, "has more than once cited facts to show that while a large class of Southern whites are suffering for the lack of compulsory education laws, the Negroes do not appear to be in need of any such spur, the eagerness of the latter to take advantage of all the educational advantages within reach being displayed on every hand. The results of the conditions indicated a couple of generations hence, provided that meanwhile larger funds for public schools are not appropriated and compulsory education laws are not enacted, promise to be such as all intelligent Southern whites must shudder to contemplate."

The Charlotte (N. C.) *Observer* says: "The statement made by Joe Garibaldi, who has had general oversight of the sanitary improvements that have been made in the city during the past several months, that the colored citizen is more amenable to the law than the white, is significant. Mr. Garibaldi says that when the law is explained to the colored citizen owning his home, he goes more immediately to the task of obeying the law than the average white citizen owning his home."

Politics take up some space in the colored press, although the causes of the various candidates are not often argued at length. The Oklahoma *Safeguard* sums up the situation pretty well:

"We are continually being asked the question by those who are interested: 'Where is the Negro and how does he stand?' We frequently give this answer: The Negro is not standing in this campaign. He is now looking out for a place to light and he is not very particular what limb he lights upon. We are tired of voting so much for the other fellow and getting nothing for ourselves."

We have not the pleasure of knowing the Mr. Fraser referred to below, but we cannot forbear setting before our readers this account of his adventures as set forth in a Hampton Institute press notice: "Mr. Fraser contracted the dreaded 'sleeping sickness' while in Uganda, Africa, but recovered his health, contrary to the hopes and expectations of those who know about the death-dealing malady."

MEMBERS.

THE fourth annual conference, the most successful ever held, has passed into history. It remains for you, reader, to complete its work. Rally round the organization; join yourself and secure other members. Make the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People the strongest and the best fighter in America for the rights of man. Let us come to the fifth conference next spring with 2,500 paying members.

TRIUMPH.

LET the eagle scream! America is redeemed at Coatesville. "Some people talk of punishing the heroic mob, and the governor of Pennsylvania seems to be real provoked. We hasten to assure our readers that nothing will be done. There may be a few formal arrests, but the men will be promptly released by the mob sitting as jury—perhaps even as judge. America knows her true heroes."

This we said some nine months ago when the crucifixion at Coatesville was new in its horror. Some of our readers took us roundly to task at the time, but to-day we can proudly announce the fulfilment of our prophecy: The last lyncher is acquitted and the best traditions of Anglo-Saxon civilization are safe.

Let the eagle scream!

EDUCATION.

CONSIDER this argument: Education is the training of men for life. The best training is experience, but if we depended entirely upon this each generation would begin where the last began and civilization could not advance.

We must then depend largely on oral and written tradition and on such bits of typical experience as we can arrange for the child's guidance to life.

More than that, children must be trained in the technique of earning a living and doing their part of the world's work.

But no training in technique must forget that the object of education is the child and not the things he makes.

Moreover, a training simply in technique will not do because general intelligence is needed for any trade, and the technique of trades changes.

Indeed, by the careful training of intelligence and ability, civilization is continually getting rid of the hardest and most exhausting toil, and giving it over to machines, leaving human beings freer for higher pursuits and self-development.

Hence, colored people in educating their children should be careful:

First: To conserve and select ability, giving to their best minds higher college training.

Second: They should endeavor to give all their children the largest possible amount of general training and intelligence before teaching them the

technique of a particular trade, remembering that the object of all true education is not to make men carpenters, but to make carpenters men.

Is not this reasoning sound? Could you imagine an educator of any experience who would take material exception to it? Would you call it revolutionary or in the nature of a "personal" attack?

Certainly not.

Yet this very argument, with illustrations and emphasis delivered to some seven hundred apparently well-pleased folk in Indianapolis, has had the most astounding results. The Indianapolis *Star* in a leading editorial denounced it as "dangerous!"

A leading white philanthropist of abolition forbears considered it not only "misleading" and "mischievous" but a covert and damaging personal attack!

The supervisor of the colored schools of Indianapolis wrote to express regret that the lecture had seemed to attack his school curriculum and ideals, and the assistant superintendent of schools in the District of Columbia hastens to give advice!

Yet where is the flaw in the argument?

There is no flaw, but there are serious flaws in the thinking of some of these critics.

The first flaw is the naive assumption that the paraphernalia of a school shows the education it is imparting. If some people see a Greek book and a cap and gown, they conclude that the boy between them is receiving higher education. But is he? That depends. If other people see a hammer, a saw and a cook book, they conclude that the boy who uses them is being trained in intelligence, ability and the earning of a living. But is he? That depends.

When the proud principal of a school shows workshop and kitchen, table and pie, one may be interested, but one is no more convinced than when another shows an array of Greek roots and rounded phrases. One must merely remark: The end of education is neither the table nor the phrase—it is the boy; what kind of boys are you training here? Are they boys quickened in intelligence, with some knowledge of the world they live in? Are they trained in such ways as to discover their true bent and ability, and to be intelligently guided to the choice of a life work? Then your system is right. Otherwise it is wrong, and not all the gingham dresses in Indiana will justify it.

The second flaw is the more or less conscious determination of certain folk to use the American public-school system for the production of laborers who will do the work they want done. To them Indianapolis exists for the sake of its factories and not the factories for the sake of Indianapolis. They want dinners, chairs and motor cars, and they want them cheap; therefore use the public schools to train servants, carpenters and mechanics. It does not occur to them to think of workingmen as existing for their own sakes. What with impudent maids, and half-trained workingmen, they are tired of democracy; they want caste; a place for everybody and everybody in his father's place with themselves on top, and "Niggers" at the bottom where they belong. To such folk the problem of education is strikingly simple. To teach the masses to work; show them how to do things; increase their output; give them intelligence, of course; but this as a means, not as an end, and be careful of too much of it. Of course, if a meteoric genius bursts his birth's invidious bar, let him escape, but keep up the bars, and as most men are fools, treat them and train them as such.

It was such darkened counsels as these that brought the French Revolution. It is such mad logic as this that is at the bottom of the social unrest to-day.

The lecturer came to Indianapolis not to criticise, but to warn—not to attack, but to make straight the way of the Lord. He is no despiser of common humble toil; God forbid! He and his

fathers before him have worked with their hands at the lowliest occupations and he honors any honest toilers at any task; but he makes no mistake here. It is the toilers that he honors, not the task —the man and not the Thing. The Thing may or may not be honorable—the man always is.

Yet the despising of men is growing and the caste spirit is rampant in the land; it is laying hold of the public schools and it has the colored public schools by the throat, North, East, South and West. Beware of it, my brothers and dark sisters; educate your children. Give them the broadest and highest education possible; train them to the limit of their ability, if you work your hands to the bone in doing it. See that your child gets, not the highest task, but the task best fitted to his ability, whether it be digging dirt or painting landscapes; remembering that our recognition as common folk by the world depends on the number of men of ability we produce—not great geniuses, but efficient thinkers and doers in all lines. Never forget that if we ever compel the world's respect, it will be by virtue of our heads and not our heels.

SUFFERING SUFFRAGETTES.

THE woman suffragists are wincing a bit under the plain speaking of THE CRISIS. President Anna Shaw writes us:

"There is not in the National Association any discrimination against colored people. If they do not belong to us it is merely because they have not organized and have not made application for membership. Many times we have had colored women on our program and as delegates, and I, personally, would be only too glad to welcome them as long as I am president of the National Association.

"At the State convention in Ithaca a few days ago, when I was conducting the question box, I was asked what I did in Louisville in regard to admitting women of Negro blood to the convention and my reply was: 'I did nothing in regard to admitting women of Negro blood to the convention. Our association does not recognize either Negro blood or white blood; what we stand for is the demand for equal political rights for women with men, and we know no distinction of race.' Our whole contention is for justice to women, white and colored, and I do not think it will be possible ever to change the platform of the National Association in this respect."

The corresponding secretary has heard vague rumors in Ohio and says:

"A somewhat indefinite report has reached me that there is being circulated a statement to the effect that the committee on resolutions of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, at the last annual convention held in Louisville, Ky., 'snowed under' a resolution condemning disfranchisement of colored people in the South. As I remember the circumstance that probably gave rise to this misleading report it was as follows: In the hurry of the last meeting of the resolutions committee, which was composed of one member from each State, only a part of the committee being present, several resolutions on various subjects were presented, one being about as the above recites. I do not recall that it read '*colored* people,' though it may have been meant to apply to them. No one objected in any way to its provisions, but one or two mentioned conditions in other parts of the United States which were against the free use of the ballot and said that the resolution was not broad enough. There was not time to discuss it fully, so this one and some other resolutions were not acted upon at all. Those who proposed any of the resolutions not acted upon by our committee had the opportunity and full liberty to present them from the floor, so that our committee did not feel that it was 'snowing under' that resolution, or any other, which it had not had time

to revise to make comprehensive enough to include all similar abridgments of rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

"The ballotless women, I can assure you, who attended that convention are working for, and urging with all their ability, strength and talents, the guarantee of civil and political rights for all citizens of the United States entitled to them."

All this is pleasant and encouraging, but does it present the facts in the case exactly? Early in August Miss Martha Gruening sought a chance to have a colored delegate introduce the following resolution at the Louisville convention and speak on the floor:

"Resolved, that the women who are trying to lift themselves out of the class of the disfranchised, the class of the insane and criminal, express their sympathy with the black men and women who are fighting the same battle and recognize that it is as unjust and as undemocratic to disfranchise human beings on the ground of color as on the ground of sex."

President Anna Shaw refused absolutely to invite the colored lady suggested and said over her signature several weeks before the convention:

"I must oppose the presentation of that resolution at our national convention. I do not feel that we should go into a Southern State to hold our national convention and then introduce any subject which we know beforehand will do nothing but create discord and inharmony in the convention. The resolution which you proposed to introduce would do more to harm the success of our convention in Louisville than all the other things that we do would do good. I am in favor of colored people voting, but white women have no enemy in the world who does more to defeat our amendments, when submitted, than colored men, and until women are recognized and permitted to vote, I am opposed to introducing into our women suffrage convention a resolution in behalf of men who, if our resolution were carried, would go straight to the polls and defeat us every time."

We have already shown that the statement that colored men oppose woman suffrage is false, and we have only to add that every effort was made to keep this resolution from being presented; and when it finally appeared it was incontinently sidetracked in committee. We are not surprised that under the circumstances the information of the corresponding secretary is "somewhat indefinite."

DECENCY.

BY a vote of 203 against 133, the German Reichstag has declared that marriages between Germans and native women in the colonies are legal. This is a triumph of sheer decency. It does not compel any German to marry a black or a brown woman. If Germans do not want a mixed mulatto progeny they may let the native woman alone. The law simply says that a marriage in fact is a marriage in law; that the virtue of a colored woman in the German colonies is to receive legal protection.

The simplest and barest demand of even half-civilized justice was not easily carried. It took the strength of Socialists and Catholics, fighting against the strongholds of German culture—the liberals and the aristocracy. Here were found the upholders of the dirtiest blot of modern white contact with backward races—the blot which makes the white Christian Church of the South to-day the strongest upholder of the system which denies all protection in law and custom to the helpless black girl before the lust of the white man.

MOORFIELD STOREY
President of the Association

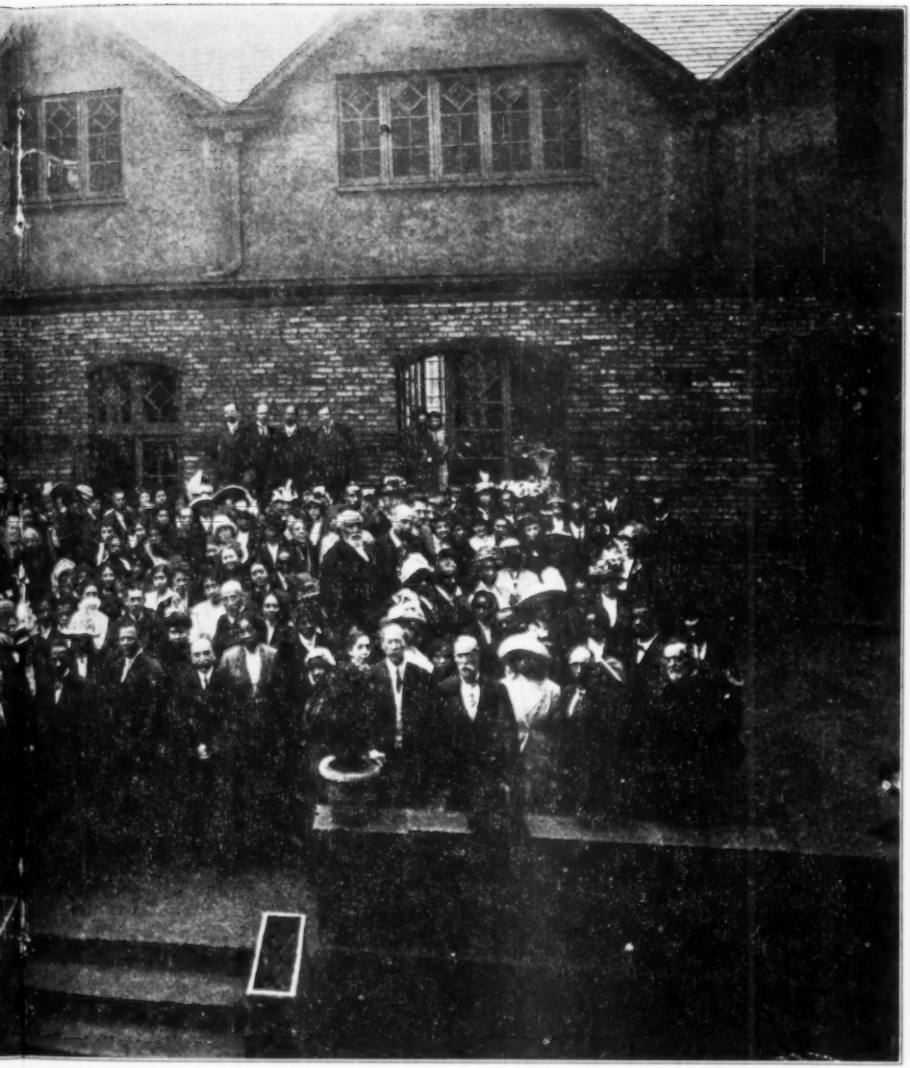
JANE ADDAMS
Honorary Chairman of Chicago Committee of Arrangements

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD
Chairman of Board of Directors

Photo by Peter P. Jones, Chicago.

THE FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

A Group of Delegates on the Terrace of Hull House. In the group are Miss Jane Addams, Judge Brown Miss Mary W. Ovington, Mr. Allinson, M



CIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE AT CHICAGO

dge Brown, Bishop Lee, Mrs. Julius Rosenwald, Dr. Bentley, Dr. I. M. Rubinow, Miss Anna Jones, llinson, Mr. S. Laing Williams and others.

The FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

OF

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

THE Fourth Annual Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at Chicago, April 28-30, was one of the most significant meetings ever held in defense of the rights of colored Americans, and the greatest of our annual conferences.

In point of numbers, previous meetings were far outdone. A thousand persons came to the opening meeting at Sinai Temple through a wild storm which the presiding officer, Jane Addams, rightly described as a "deluge." At every other meeting, except the executive morning session, the seven hundred seats in Handel Hall were filled and the doors had to be closed to keep others out.

The speeches reached a high level of earnestness and not a false note was struck. There was a spirit of broad kindliness with no touch of personal rancor, and yet we were not given a lukewarm mess of flat platitudes. Mr. Villard set the pace with a straightforward unswerving statement of the aims of this association, and the fundamental points on which it differed from the party of silence and compromise. The note thus struck was courageously echoed and distinctly stated by Judge Brown on the one hand and Charles Edward Russell on the other in two of the strongest speeches ever delivered at our conferences.

Two other speeches, those of Mr. Rubinow and Mr. Du Bois, gave the conference an unusual grasp of facts with pictures of the actual color line and a parallelism between the Russian peasant and Jew on the one hand and the colored American on the other.

There were scattered throughout the session speeches of widely different character from those mentioned: The amusing and keenly epigrammatic oratory of Pickens, the calm sweet universalism of Abdul Baha and the interesting statement of Dr. Kealing.

The last night presented a scene which one would travel far to see. A Jewish rabbi presided; on the platform were Mrs. Emmons Blaine and Mrs. Cyrus McCormick, her mother; among the speakers were three striking personalities: the president of the Illinois Miners' Labor Union; a Southern white man; the head of a colored settlement; and a cultivated colored woman who in quiet tones told of the dynamiting of her own home. As opening and climax to this remarkable gathering came a speech of Abdul Baha and a farewell from Julius Rosenwald. Small wonder that a thousand disappointed people were unable to get even standing room in the hall.

Many striking personalities were seen and felt in the gatherings; first of all Jane Addams—calm, sweet and so absolutely fearless when she sees the right—and her co-worker, Miss Lathrop, who is to head the new National Children's Bureau; the venerable Bishop Lee was an interested listener and presiding officer, and Miss Nerney, the new executive secretary who comes to us June 1, had her first experience in a conference of this sort. Much of the social life of the conference centered at Hull House, where two luncheons and a large reception were given.

Every one who attended the conference expressed pleasure and gratitude at the work of the local committee and especially at the publicity work of Mr. Hallinan, the excellent secretarial work of Mr. Allinson and Dr. Bentley's invaluable co-operation. To such a meeting the letter of the governor of Illinois was a fitting greeting: "I am sure that a well-organized association such as yours cannot fail to be of great service, not only to the race whose interests it is your special concern to promote and protect, but to society at large whose aims and purposes are essentially the same as their own."

We are able to give some of the admirable addresses in this issue of THE CRISIS, while others which we are obliged to omit now, for lack of space, we hope to give our readers at a future date.

SOME OF THE DELEGATES

The Objects of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, Chairman of the Executive Committee

THE objects of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People may be put into a single sentence: This society exists in order to combat the spirit of persecution and prejudice which confronts the colored people of this land, and to assure to them every right, privilege and opportunity to which every citizen of the United States is entitled. That it exists at all is in itself an indictment of our American democracy. For it asks no favors, no privileges, no special advantages or benefits for those disadvantaged ones, whose fathers and mothers but fifty years ago to-day were still being sold upon the auction block as so much live stock. It does not, of course, ask that financial reparation be made to them for what their race suffered under the monstrous aggregation of wrongdoing which went by the name of slavery; the colored people themselves never demanded any such damages in the courts of law, or of public opinion. It does not even ask special indulgence for any of their shortcomings or beg for them unusual economic and educational opportunities because of their disadvantages and the frightful inheritance of vice and ignorance which was the chief bequest of slavery. It merely asks equality of opportunity, equality at the ballot box, equality in the courts of the land.

Surely this is a simple enough platform—a reasonable enough demand. Theoretically, all but those most imbued with race prejudice grant the justness of our contentions. Theoretically, everybody in this country throws his cap in the air each day and asserts that all men are born free and equal and fit to govern themselves. And yet there are many persons interested in the welfare of the Negro who look with suspicion upon our simple platform and hold aloof from our work, for there are two schools of thought even among those who feel that the Negro is at all times grievously wronged and at times shockingly maltreated. The difference between the two schools is chiefly one of method. There are, for instance, those prominent in the educational work among the Negroes of the South, both white and black, who feel that it is a mistake to dwell upon injuries and wrongs, outrages and persecution, because, in their belief, the

cure can only come through the slow education of all the people, and with the lapse of an indefinite amount of time. It does not worry them that during the past decades no effective protest was made against disfranchisement; one State after another has deprived the black man of his vote and discriminated against him in a hundred different ways. They believed, at the time, like many an honest Southerner, that the disfranchisement laws were blessings in disguise because, first, they would incite the Negro to educate himself and his children that he might qualify as a voter, so far as the educational test is concerned; and, secondly, that with the removal of the Negro from politics he would find himself free to develop materially and socially; in fact, along every other line save the political one. They are not daunted to-day by the fact that their forecasts have proved incorrect, that the Negro is still in politics in the South, that his way upward from slavery is barred by many a barrier, and hindered by many a needless obstacle—by prejudice, by the caste feeling, by the malicious spirit of persecution, which, in some instances of late, finds its satiation only in burning women alive. Still the cry with them is "Time and patience." This association they deem too radical. Like the old abolition societies, this is believed to be a mischief maker, because it is willing in season and out of season to lay unpleasant facts before the public. Its organ of opinion, THE CRISIS, is not always optimistic, but usually pessimistic, if that adjective covers properly its monthly chronicle of crimes against the race and against the law, the mocking of the courts, the passing of segregation ordinances that would make ghettos in each one of our Southern cities, and other reactionary happenings of the same kind. With these reformers the cry is, to paraphrase the French philosopher: "Patience, patience—it is the most beautiful thing in the world." They are silent in the face of all this wrongdoing unless at times and places where it is safe to speak out against the growing lynching habit. They look with ill-concealed uneasiness upon those who would make each single wrongdoing as a fire bell in the night to alarm the conscience of the people. Their duty as they see it is to serve, but not to protect; to sit silent if need be in the presence of sin, with their eyes fixed only upon the numerous and encouraging signs that this republic will in the long run not tolerate injustice against a class or race among its citizens.

For this opinion, honestly held, particularly when advocated by those in the educational field, one can have the fullest respect if it is consistently adhered to, but that is not the policy of this association. It is not content to sit idly by and see wrong done, even though certain at heart that in the long run righteousness will prevail, that the mills of the gods grind exceedingly fine, however slowly. While seeing nothing in the history of the last one hundred years, but a steady progress toward true democracy; reading this in the story of all Europe, of England, of France, Germany and Italy, and latterly even in Turkey and Persia, Japan and China, as well as in the development of the woman suffrage movement in this country and abroad and in the rise of the progressive movement in the United States and its purpose to strike at special privilege, the members of the association still feel as much entitled to point out our national wrongdoing and to strike at intrenched privilege as the Abolitionists felt at liberty to assail every citadel garrisoned by slaveholders or their sympathizers. Ours, too, is a battle for democracy, pure and undefiled. It is not for us to compromise, however much others may feel the necessity of doing so. It is not for us to withhold our scorn and indignation when we see colored men and women outraged, robbed, maimed or burned in Pennsylvania or in Illinois, in Mississippi or in Georgia. On the contrary, it is our duty to speak out that everyone may know and hear.

Observing the situation carefully, what do the members of this association behold in the country at large? That abstract justice appeals to us all is plain. The nation boasts of this as it does of that alleged equality of opportunity by which the humblest rail splitter of them all may rise to the White House. Then it makes a prompt exception to the rule and says that the colored man may rise, not according to his industry, or his merit, or his talents, but only so far as his white fellows will let him. He may not live in the White House; he may not even take a meal there. Thus abstract justice loses considerable of its abstractness, and those of the white skin who sit in judgment upon the Negro are as

much outraged by the idea that he may know a little bit better what he needs and what is good for him than anybody else, as were the lords of England in 1775 upset by the theory that the Colonists of America were the best judges of what made for their happiness and welfare. We hear on all sides in this year of our lord 1912 much to the effect that the people shall rule; that direct government is what we need to cure all our political ills; that the people may be trusted with complete control of legislation and of the executive offices of city and State as well as of the judiciary—but not the colored man. For his benefit the country waves aside every one of these doctrines so warmly espoused and connives at the Negro's disfranchisement by the hundred thousand on the ground that it is for his own good. The violation of the Constitution which this procedure involves affects them not at all. The magic powers with which the initiative, referendum and recall have been endowed are, it appears, potent only when these devices of government are availed of by white men; they cease to operate for the communal advantage if colored men vote and desire to evoke their aid.

Again we learn that the affectionate term "God's Country," applied by so many to our land, is interchangeable with "White Man's Country," and that this term is again synonymous with trickery and wrongdoing; yes, even wholesale murder and a denial of the courts of justice, if necessary, to black men —on all which proceeding the God, who owns this country, looks down, it is confidently asserted, with complete satisfaction. Thus, the color line does more than to set apart the sheep and the goats among us; more even than to throw out of gear this new political machinery upon which so many of our fellow citizens base their hope of a future democracy. Fundamental political actions and principles go by the board when it is asserted that they apply only in a community in which the whites are in a comfortable majority. The law of gravitation remains unchanged under all circumstances, so does the multiplication table when those who con it are black; but when a community largely Negroid begins to chant the sacred fundamental truths that government rests only on the consent of the governed; that, as Lincoln put it—"No man is good enough to govern another without that other's consent"—then we learn that these truisms upon which our whole structure of government rests are truisms only when they apply to men of white blood. It is just as if we declared that the teachings of Christianity itself apply only to the white man, and cease to be effective or binding or to provide a sound chart of life for those inhabitants of this universe who have a drop of Negro blood in their veins.

That is what the slogan of "White Man's Country" means, the giving the lie to every political principle, to every democratic belief, to every article of American faith, to every tenet of religion. Should we not be

A SOCIAL GATHERING OF THE DELEGATES

wickedly recreant to those principles and doctrines if there were not some Americans ready to band together to declare with all the strength that comes with union in an unselfish cause, that our treatment of the colored people of to-day tarnishes the country's good name, mocks and flouts our republican institutions and makes a hypocrite of the nation for which we are ready to give our lives?

It was three years ago that the need became so clear as to bring this organization into being. Three years ago marked the centennial of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, surely the most fitting time of all to found such an undertaking. From small beginnings it has grown rapidly. Its organ of public opinion, THE CRISIS, reaches more than 22,000 readers. Branches have been organized in Boston, Chicago, Baltimore, Washington and New York, and there is a host of applications for branches elsewhere on file in our main office. Meetings have been held in great numbers. The association's centenary celebrations of Sumner, Phillips and Harriet Beecher Stowe have done not a little to keep alive the spirit of the abolition times. The work of legal redress is going on apace; there is being undertaken at the present time a careful investigation of one of the most terrible of lynchings, one of more than one hundred which took place during the year 1911. In every direction the effort is being made to obtain the truth about the progress of the colored people, and to put the facts in their case before the public.

THE NATION'S DUTY

An address delivered at the conference in Chicago by the Honorable EDWARD O. BROWN, Justice of the Appellate Court, First District of the State of Illinois

I AM glad to express my hearty and enthusiastic sympathy with the purposes of this association, of which, from its organization, I have been proud to be a member.

It is not with any benevolent, charitable or condescending spirit that we of the white race are or should be in this movement. The Negro citizens of the United States are not asking charitable assistance from us. They are asking our aid as a matter of right, of our own self-respect—the aid which every high-minded man, who is unwarped in his thought by some conventional prejudice, of whatever race or creed or complexion he may be, instinctively wishes to give to anyone whom he sees hurt or oppressed by a stronger force unjustly used. It is a duty every American of the white race owes to himself and to his white fellow citizens quite as much as he does to the Negro to see to it, so far as he is able, that the color of a man's skin shall not subject him to insult, oppression and injustice in a country boasting of its democracy, its liberty and the political equality of its citizens. The people of the United States, more than any other people of the earth, should recognize the obligation to prevent racial partisanship and prejudice from controlling or influencing our conduct toward the Negro. Yet a dominant portion of our fellow citizens to-day go beyond the people of any other country in the world in unjust discrimination against him, not only in political matters, but also in business, in education and in all the activities of civic, community and social life.

I say that we of the United States are most clearly bound to avoid and, when it

shows itself, to repress the manifestations of this spirit of injustice and oppression, because our fathers at least, if not we ourselves, were participants in the national crime which gave it birth. No one to-day, unless it be some dreaming reactionary, whose thoughts and life are altogether with the past, and who is without influence on a society with which he is out of touch, ventures to defend chattel slavery; but it is because our fathers and grandfathers were obliged in deference to their own conscience to attempt to justify the chattel slavery of Negroes by holding and teaching themselves and others to believe that Negroes were inferior beings, unfit to be trusted to govern or even to care for themselves, that we, their descendants of the present day, to such a great extent persist, now that chattel slavery is dead and its justification abandoned, in treating them still as such inferior beings, in defiance of the evident fact that the Negro, in each class of his own society, can and does govern and care for himself equally as well as the white man of the corresponding class.

When the impressions of the Civil War were fresh upon us, at the time I became a citizen and a voter, a great majority of the people of the North at least felt the responsibility which had been imposed upon them. We had fought a great war to preserve the Federal Union. Although this war was not begun with the purpose nor even the hope of abolishing slavery, it became evident long before the end that it was the antipathy to slavery on the part of the masses of the Northern people that supplied that moral motive and enthusiasm which supported the Federal Government to its final victory. This is questioned, I know. It is merely my own belief that I am stating, and it is not necessary to the main thought that I would put before you; namely, the moral obligation we of the Northern part of our common country are under now, as much as we were immediately after the Civil War, to stand for justice to the Negro. For, whether necessarily or not, the Federal Government and we of the North did turn that war, long before its close, into a war having for its inevitable end the abolition of slavery. Then we accepted everywhere we could get it the assistance of the Negroes, to whom we professed we were bringing liberty and advancement. We used their free men of the North for soldiers; their freedmen of the South for scouts, for fort builders, for foragers and commissaries. The Negroes of the South were largely the eyes and ears of our armies in the field.

We were successful. We took no end of glory to ourselves for the redemption and emancipation of a race. We were full of moral fervor for the education, the elevation and the advancement of the Negro.

When the Southern planters, stripped of position and fortune and, as they thought, of most that had made life worth the living to them, were not unnaturally found entirely unable to understand the new relations into which they had been thrown with their former slaves, and began, by legal codes framed for that purpose, to reinstitute a peonage or serfdom for the blacks which should keep them in the tutelage and guardianship under which their former owners said they could alone live and prosper, we of the North were at a white heat of indignation. Never was there more political rage than in the so-called reconstruction times, and the great majority of the citizens of the North declared in effect by their votes, not once but many times during those days, that the nation was under a moral duress to protect its wards from injustice, from oppression, and from the deadly injury of social and political ostracism. Civil-rights bills, national and State, were passed. Military force in times of peace was unsparingly used. Constitutional precedents and constitutional arguments were swept away because the people rightly and justly held that nations, like men, were bound by fundamental principles of honor, and that we could not take the responsibility of setting men free, severing them from the care for their purely material and physical welfare which the self-interests of their owners had led to, and accepting their efficient aid in carrying the burden of a great national task, and then abandon them to the control of men who had never entertained an idea that they could occupy any position not of inferiority and subjection.

But this view led to further action. We gave to the newly enfranchised the suffrage. We made great efforts to provide for their education. We raised in the mind of many a colored youth thoughts and aspirations to which he would have been a stranger had it not been for the line of action taken by the dominant part of the country at that time. We would not tolerate political oppression nor social oppression of these, our wards, we

said. They had stood by us; we were bound to stand by them, to put it on no higher plane. But there *was* a higher plane. We had taken them from the physical, moral and intellectual guardianship of their masters and owners. We had undertaken to make of them free men and citizens of our common country, and by all common principles of honorable action, and by the fundamental idea of our political system, we were bound to see that they were given, so far as law and community usage went, equal opportunities with every other free man and citizen to make of themselves the best that God had rendered possible.

Now, when a State or a civic community has once undertaken a duty like that, there is no way for it in honor to retreat or withdraw.

Every step in education or social advancement we opened to these people made any political inequality, any social injustice, any ostracism, any oppression or insult, more bitter to them than it had ever been before. For a Southern State to hold free Negroes before the war under the restrictions and inequalities which there bound them was hard and brutal enough. But for Massachusetts, for example, before the war, to have attempted to place upon her respected citizens of the African race the same restrictions, after they had been for years treated as entitled to equality of opportunity, of education and of political rights, would have been a much more stupendous crime, against which the natural sense of justice in civilized men everywhere would have revolted.

But what has happened? The Negroes have certainly come fairly up in all the things dependent on their own exertions, in all things where they have been allowed to control their own actions and have been given a chance to avail themselves of equal opportunities, to what could in reason have been expected of a race of which the great majority had been in bondage, prohibited by law from education and from any of the individual enterprises by which men in a competing state of society rise to success and distinction. They have become in one generation planters, business men, professional men, teachers, bankers, artists, musicians and authors. They have reared theatres and established schools and colleges of their own; they have built churches, hospitals and orphan asylums of their own. The United States census returns have shown to what a wonderful extent, in the midst of conditions which I am about to mention and deplore, the colored people of this country, especially in the South, have made a story of upward striving, of progress and of advancement.

But I say again, every advance that the Negro has made has rendered the more brutal and cruel, the meaner and more dishonorable acts of discrimination and insult against him. He feels them all the more; he resents them all the more, and he is justified in doing so. And we see around us a reaction, a moral lowering of the standards of honor in our treatment of the Negro. For the last quarter of the century at least that lowering has been going on from bad to worse quite as much in the North, in our own communities, as in the South. Segregation in schools, segregation in churches, segregation in theatres, segregation in business and professional associations, in traveling conveyances—a segregation which means an utterly unjustifiable and illegal ostracism, bad as it is, is but the least of the outrages under which the Negro race has been suffering in this country.

By what seems to me the most deplorably growing popular prejudice, and one without cause save the inherent vulgarity of those who foster it, we are practically attempting to shut out the Negroes from all but a few occupations, denying them thus even the opportunity to show whether or not they are our inferiors.

George Bernard Shaw, in one of his inimitable passages of humorous sarcasm, speaks of the sweet reasonableness of the Yankees who first preventing Negroes from following any occupation but that of the bootblack or the waiter, then proclaim as evidence of the intellectual inferiority of the Negroes, that they are only bootblacks or waiters.

One of our municipal court judges the other day publicly alluded in terms of praise to the honest lives that the Negroes of Chicago lead in the face of hardships and temptations, declaring that in times when work was scarce they suffered more than any other class, being absolutely barred from many kinds of employment open to white workers.

Despite this attempt at restriction, cruel, injurious and ineffably mean as it is, the native ability and genius of many a colored

man has shown forth conspicuously, as I have said, in every high department of business and intellectual activity.

But this constant, continuous and studied erection of worst and meanest of caste systems, one based on nothing but a man's racial complexion (for there are neither religious nor political differences of opinion to reckon with), keeps even these exceptional men in a lifelong feeling of injury and injustice.

Do we not owe it to ourselves, as well as to them, to agitate, to educate, and, if we must, to legislate, and to enforce the legislation, until we shall shake off the benumbing influence of this reaction against the ideals of human liberty and human brotherhood of fifty years ago? For one, I should feel unworthy of the Massachusetts ancestry from which I sprang if I could bring myself to indifference on this subject.

But what of the darker side of this picture —the outrages which go beyond ostracism or insult or restriction, to the most fiendish of murders? What, as a judge of the third commonwealth of the United States, can I say to my English friends and relatives who ask me if it is true that in this State a few brief years ago racial prejudice ran lawless riot in the streets of its capital, near the very tomb of the great emancipator, and murdered Negroes, and that no one has been punished?

That they may ask it is clear enough. When that later crime at Coatesville, in Pennsylvania, which I shudder in speaking of, was detailed in the public prints, the Philadelphia *Record* said, with aptness and truth (I quote from this month's issue of THE CRISIS, which you doubtless all have seen):

"In the London clubs and public houses men are talking this week about American savagery. Wondering Chinese in Shanghai and Peking are asking if this is the America which they have accepted as their special mentor. India, quick to draw historic parallels, is pointing out that in the days of the Moguls there was never a brutality like this one from the part of America called Coatesville. Turkey lifts her bloody hands in self-exculpation—there was never anything in an Armenian massacre to equal this. Five continents and the islands of the sea are pointing fingers of scorn at this country because of the black deed of one wild night in a Pennsylvania borough."

We have been told that in the last twenty-five years 2,500 Negroes have been lynched in this country, and in only a minority of the cases has there been even an allegation of the crime that is put forward as offering the only excuse for this monstrous lawlessness.

But as the murders have increased in number and in barbarity, so they have created less and less comment and indignant protest; and senators of the United States and governors of States defend them!

This at least I can say to my foreign friends—this at least I shall say—that personally I have never refused and never will refuse, as a minister of the law, as a citizen, as a man, to do or say the little that I can in aid of any movement and in the expression of any protest which is made against those crying meannesses, wrongs and crimes.

Nor am I hopeless. The pendulum must swing back. As Governor Altgeld once finely expressed it: "Things will right themselves! The pendulum swings one way and then another, but the steady pull of gravitation is toward the center of the earth. Wrong may seem to triumph. Right may seem to be defeated. But the gravitation of eternal justice is toward the throne of God!"

But the duty of us all is plain—as plain now as it was to the abolitionists of the anti-war time. It is to speak out, freely and boldly. We need to remember the words of John Stuart Mill:

"It appears to me that when prejudices persist obstinately it is the fault of nobody so much as of those who make a point of proclaiming them insuperable as an excuse for never joining in an attempt to remove them.

"Any prejudice whatever will be insurmountable if those who do not share it themselves truckle to it and flatter it and accept it as a law of nature."

The BROTHERHOOD OF MAN

An address delivered at the Chicago Conference by ABDUL BAHA of Persia

GOD has stated in the Bible, the Old Testament: "We have created man in our own image and likeness." This statement indicates the fact that man in some particular is of the image and likeness of God. This man who has been called the image and likeness of God: Let us find out just where and how he is the image and likeness of the Lord, and what is the standard or criterion whereby he can be measured.

If a man should possess wealth, can we call him an image and likeness of God? Or is human honor the criterion whereby he can be called the image of God? Or can we apply a color test as a criterion, and say such and such a one is colored with a certain hue and he therefore is the image of God? Can we say, for example, a man who is green in hue is an image of God? Or can we make another distinction, saying that one who is white is any more an image of God? Is simply the white color a criterion whereby man is to be judged? And shall we make a sweeping statement like. that? Or is it reasonable for us to choose the dark color? Supposing we say a colored man is after all the image and likeness, just because of his color, or the red-skinned man, shall he be the image and likeness of God? Or shall we declare the yellow race to be a creation and therefore an image and likeness of God? Hence we come to the conclusion that colors are of no importance.

Colors are accidental in nature. That which is essential is the humanitarian aspect. And that is the manifestation of Divine Virtues and that is the Merciful Bestowals. That is the Eternal Life. That is the Baptism through the Holy Spirit. Therefore let it be known that color is of no importance. Man, who is the image and likeness of God, who is the Manifestation of the Bestowals of God, he is acceptable at the threshold of God whatever be his color. Let him be blue in color, or white, or green, or brown, that matters not! Man is not to be pronounced man simply because of bodily attributes. Man is to be judged according to his intelligence and to his spirit. Because he is to be judged according to spirit and intelligence, therefore, let that be the only criterion. That is the image of God.

As regards you here in this country, there is a point of importance, namely, patriotism. That is common to both. And from the standpoint of language, you share that, both of you speak one tongue. And you have in common the same civilization. And now, with these numerous points of partnership or contact and the one point of difference, which is of the least importance, that of color, are you going to allow this least of differences, namely, that of color, to separate you?

From the standpoint of the body, you have that in common. All the five senses and tangible properties of man you share. As regards intelligence, you are both endowed therewith. Patriotism is common to both. From the standpoint of language there is a point of contact. Your civilization is one and the same. From the standpoint of religion you are one and the same. One point of distinction, and that is color. Is it meet, is it becoming, with all the points of contact, for this least point of distinction or difference should there be any separation or difference? Indeed, not! God is not pleased, nor is any intelligent man pleased, nor is any reasonable man willing to have any difference because of that.

His Holiness, Baha'o'llah, has proclaimed to the world the Oneness of the world of humanity. He has caused the various nations and divergent sects and creeds to unite, and he has declared that the difference in color in the human kingdom is similar to the differences of the flowers, the variegated flowers in a garden. If you enter a garden you will see yellow flowers, white flowers, dark, variegated flowers, the red flower, for example, in the utmost of delicacy and beauty, radiant, and each one through difference lends a charm to the other. This difference in the human kingdom is similar to that. And now were you to be ushered into a garden where all the flowers were to be of the same hue or color, how monotonous!

Therefore, he has said that the various colors of human kind, one is white, one is black, one is yellow, one is red—this sort of difference lends a harmony of color and beauty to the whole. Therefore, all must associate with one another, even as flowers consort harmoniously together in a given garden.

A WORD FROM MR. JULIUS ROSENWALD.

MR. CHAIRMAN, ladies and gentlemen: Much against my will I allowed myself to be introduced, but I am going to say just one word: We have heard a good deal to-night about the struggles and the hardships and the abuses that the colored people of the North and the South have to suffer, but there is one thing that has impressed itself upon me since this organization or this conference has started in Chicago, and a few days before, and that is the fact that the newspapers of this city have been most outspoken in their liberality and demand that the colored people have their rights and be given better treatment. If anything can be more promising than the editorials that have appeared in the leading Chicago papers I wouldn't know what it could be. The *Tribune*, the *Record-Herald* and the other papers have simply outdone themselves in their liberality and demand for the rights of the colored man, and to my notion there oughtn't to be anything but optimism. That is the only word I want to speak, and I believe it: while there is a great struggle, and the courts, as has been said here to-night, do not give the colored man an equal show and do discriminate against him, I want to say to you that lots and lots of us people suffer from the same cause. Any number of immigrants in this country are discriminated against in the courts, and while you are interested in your phase of the discrimination, yet in the work that I am engaged in among others it is simply shameful the treatment that the immigrant receives at the hands of our courts, and I only mention this so that you do not feel that the discrimination is entirely against the colored man; it is also against others, and I am tremendously pleased that there is so much occasion for optimism. Good-night.

THE CRY OF THE MAN THAT'S DOWN

OH! White Man! Now the world is thine, alone;
We till your land, and care for what has grown;
We raise your children, and neglect our own;
We work, and thou dost reap what we have sown.

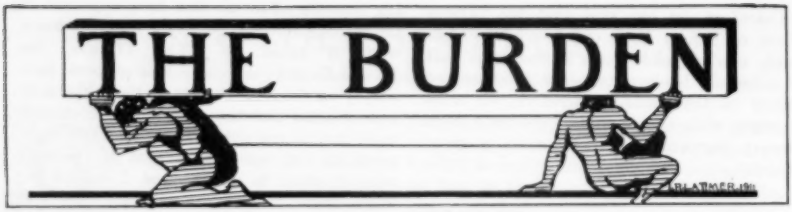
Oh! White Man! Think'st our time is but delayed,
And centuries of servitude's not made
All cowards of us, suffering, afraid?
Thou'rt right! Thou has a debt which must be paid.

Oh! White Man! In the land from which we came,
We braved the storm, and sought the fiercest game;
Then were we men, and worthy of the name,
And, underneath, our race is still the same.

Oh! White Man! Thou hast, daily, greater need
Of all we do, which thee and us does feed;
Easy the task, if thou wilt let us read;
Give us but knowledge, and ask greater deed.

Oh! White Man! Give us not unheeding ears;
Our cries unheard, 'till after many years;
'Twill be a time of shattered hopes and fears;
A sombre cycle, filled with blood and tears.

NORMAN D. LIPPINCOTT.
(A white man of Asheville, N. C.)



DAISY BELL'S STORY.

THE Montgomery (Ala.) *Times* one day in February contained the following item: "Daisy Bell, a Negress, was arraigned in the recorder's court Tuesday afternoon on a charge of assault and battery upon the person of Bertha Graham, also a Negress. A fine of $100 and costs and an additional sentence of six months on the street gang was assessed against the woman."

A common enough item and uninteresting enough at the first glance. However, when James Edward McCall writes in *Sparks*, a colored magazine published in Birmingham, the plain story of Daisy Bell and her chance in the world, the dull police court item expands to a far-reaching and only too typical tragedy.

Daisy Bell is not yet quite 18. Her mother is an honest woman who has worked as a cook almost all her life. As a child Daisy ran the streets and tumbled up as best she could, for her mother hardly ever had time to care for her. She has had four years' intermittent schooling in all.

She has a naturally violent temper, which she has never been taught to control either

WHITE HIGH SCHOOL, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

Value of building, grounds and equipment $200,168.64. White school population, 1910, 19,810.

at home or in school—both places being in the nature of legends to her—and she used sometimes to fight in the streets. At 16 she was arrested and sent to the chain gang for this. She served a year and six months. After she came home a child was born, the father being one of the white convict guards. Mr. McCall says great care is taken to keep colored women and colored men convicts apart, but the colored women have no protection from the guards. While Daisy Bell is serving her second sentence her sickly baby is wailing in the shanty of a poor woman who is so busy trying to earn food that she can no more care for it than Daisy's mother could care for her, and the family history seems likely to proceed in the same vicious circle.

Yet Daisy Bell, aged 18, untaught, neglected, outraged, has had no worse fate than befalls thousands of unhappy colored girls under the "protection" of the white man's laws and "superior civilization."

REFORM IN BIRMINGHAM.

WE have received an interesting pamphlet on the work that is being done in Birmingham, Ala., to protect children brought before the courts either for some offense or because of improper guardianship. There is an excellent boys' club, a camp where sports are encouraged and the boys are surrounded by healthy influences. Evidently, earnest and successful work is being done—for white children. It would seem from the report that the number of colored children brought before the court is rather larger than the number of white, but apparently they are left to reform themselves as best they may, with the exception of the few who can be sent to Mount Meigs, the reformatory started by the colored women's clubs of Alabama.

Why do the colored children of Birmingham throng the courts and jails? Because only 5,240 seats are provided in the Negro schools for 19,726 colored children, and because of school accommodations like this:

COLORED HIGH SCHOOL, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

Value of building, grounds and equipment $1,050. Colored school population, 1910, 19,726.

Conducted by JESSIE FAUSET

A Negro Explorer at the North Pole. By Matthew Henson. Frederick A. Stokes Co., New York.

This book has a simplicity and directness that makes it very appealing. The author knows his facts so well and states them so succinctly that it is hard to lay the story down until it is finished. And when the end is reached one experiences a rare satisfaction; for not many true stories of adventure end so triumphantly. To start for the North Pole and to reach it—that is an achievement worthy of consideration! But a very great deal of hardship and suffering had to be overcome before the grand consummation could be obtained. All this Mr. Henson tells without effort and without the use of flowery language. And yet he has a noticeably correct feeling for the proper word and phrase. The book has some pathos, too—not overdone—and a certain dramatic quality, as seen in the chapter entitled "The Pole."

The photographs, seven in number, are very interesting and are, some of them, reproductions of Mr. Henson's own work. It is a book well worth reading.

Biography of George Thomas Downing. By S. A. M. Washington.

Although Mr. Downing lived for the better part of a century, from 1819 to 1903, one cannot help wondering how, with even all those years, he found time to engage in so many activities. He showed early in life the stuff of which he was made. When a mere lad of 14 he contrived to induce some other boys to refrain from celebrating the Fourth of July, because the Declaration of Independence was to the American Negro "a perfect mockery." From this time on he became active in the anti-slavery cause. He was an agent of the Underground Railroad, an active member of the Anti-Slavery Society and one of the committee of thirteen organized at the time York and took a conspicuous part in the of the Fugitive Slave Law. He took steps to abolish the property qualification placed upon colored people by the State of New first anniversary meeting of John Brown's death, in Tremont Temple. When, later on, he took charge of the House Refectory, in Washington, he became the intimate, and in some cases the confidant of the leading statesmen of both parties, and he was consulted almost daily on matters of legislation. The place of such a character is one not easily filled. One thinks "he was a man, take him for all in all. When comes there such another?"

The Terrible Meek, a Play. By Charles Rann Kennedy. Harper & Bros., New York.

The word "awful" in its true sense seems the most fitting adjective for describing this drama. It is a little one-act play for three voices, to be played in darkness. That is what enthralls one so—the darkness, the strange unaccountable sounds and noises, the frightful mysteriousness of everything. And the disembodied voices—the peasant woman's, the soldier's with its cockney accent, the captain's, decisive as an army man's should be, but stressed with emotion. The three voices talk, and the horror grows as the listener catches the story's dim outline. The peasant woman's son has been done to death, it would seem, hastened out of life by the law for some indefinable fault. The captain has received orders from some one higher up, and the soldier has taken an active part in bringing about the poor unfortunate's end. Now that it is all over, the soldier and his captain are discussing the painful affair. They speak more like equals than as officer and man. The soldier

tells with sudden, horrid pathos how the doomed man's clothes were divided up, and how he (the soldier) got his boots: "Yes, 'e don't want them no more; not quite my fit, but they'll do to tek home for a keepsake—that is, if we ever do get 'ome aht of this 'ere stinkin' 'ole. My little missis'll think a lot of them boots."

One shudders at the gross commonplaceness, and wonders what is so vaguely familiar. It is as though some far-off, dimly visualized conjecture had suddenly stalked, alive and actual, into our midst. Presently an unearthly splendor fills the place. It is seen to be the top of a bleak, stony hill with little grass on it. One stares bewildered. Suddenly one *knows*. For the woman is garbed in Eastern robes, the captain is a Roman centurion and the soldier is a Roman legionary. And above them tower three gaunt crosses, whereon hang three men, dead, and gibbeted like thieves!

HISTORIC DAYS IN JUNE

1. President Tyler sent a message to Congress dealing with the suppression of the slave trade, 1841.

2. Geo. W. Smalley, anti-slavery journalist, born, 1833.

3. United States recognized Hayti and Liberia as members of the family of nations, 1862.

5. First chapter of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" published, 1854.

7. Pennsylvania passed first act to prevent importation of slaves, 1712.

8. The Florida Conference of the A. M. E. Church organized, 1867.

9. Bishop James Varick, first bishop of the A. M. E. Zion Church, died, 1827.

10. Richard Allen, who with others had been treated with indignities in a Methodist Church, while listening to prayers, issued his "Declaration of Independence," 1794. He became later the first bishop of the African M. E. Church.

11. Florida ratified the Fifteenth Amendment.

13. Resolution proposing Fourteenth Amendment submitted to the States, 1866.

14. Harriet Beecher Stowe born, 1811.

15. Henry O. Flipper, first Negro cadet graduated from the West Point Military Academy, 1877.

16. Dessalines became emperor of Hayti, 1804.

17. Peter Salem killed Major Pitcairn at the battle of Bunker Hill, 1775.

18. Battle of Poison Springs, 1864.

20. The Colony of Georgia refused to admit slavery, 1739.

21. James Varick elected first bishop of the A. M. E. Zion Church, 1821.

22. Lord Mansfield delivered the opinion in the Somerset case, wherein it was decided that a slave became free by coming into England, 1772.

23. Daniel H. Chamberlain, reconstruction governor of South Carolina, born, 1835.

24. Henry Ward Beecher, anti-slavery preacher, born, 1813.

26. Virginia proclaimed revised constitution, 1902.

27. Paul Laurence Dunbar born, 1872.

28. Fugitive slave laws repealed, 1864.

29. Virginia blamed the King of England for the slave trade to the Colonies, 1776.

30. San Domingo annexation rejected, 1870.

L. M. Hershaw.

LETTER BOX

NOW what we are trying to get at. We want to know whether there is going to be any better times in the South for we poor Negroes or not. Here in Texas the officers or any other white man can knock the Negroes and kick them about, and kill a few of them if they want to, and nothing is said or done about it, and these officers will arrest a Negro and put the handcuffs on him and take him on to the jail, and, after having him under lock and key, they will pull out their six-shooters and beat the poor

Negro until he is as bloody as a stabbed hog, and they tell every Negro that sees them commit these horrible crimes if we tell it on them they will mob every Negro and burn them together from three days old up to one thousand years old. In the springtime these officers go all around to every Negro's house in town, as far around as they can reach, to see who is working and who is not, and we have not the power and privilege to protect our wives and daughters and sons and ourselves, and we have to be thankful to keep from getting arrested for nothing, and yet the half has never been told. What we want you to please be sure and do —we want you to copy from this letter and send it in to the President at once, and be sure to see that he gets it, so he will know that we are petitioning to him for aid and protection. We have sent in petitions to the governor about these horrible crimes, but it has never done any good.

Dear Sir:

Permit me to say a word in praise of your cover design by R. L. Brown for this month. I have been in the magazine business both here and abroad for many years, and I have never seen a more attractive cover. It stood out conspicuously on all the news stands, and seemed to exercise much "drawing power." W. B. NORTHROP.

You will please send my CRISIS in the name of my daughter. She is not quite a year old yet, but I want to begin early in interesting her in race pride and race journals. A. L. WEAVER,
Chicago, Ill.

The masses of white folk still do not know the meaning of Christianity. It is my aim to get THE CRISIS to the attention of as many persons as my pocketbook and tact will allow. I belong to "the pale-faced world with the stringy heads," and I believe that the time will come when our children's children will look with profound disgust, as many of us already do, upon this inhuman race prejudice. If the disgust will not be caused by shame, pure and simple, it will be forced upon them because of respect for the Negro. Nothing is more commanding of respect than to hear a people, bound by a love caused by a common affliction, say each of the rest "my people," as I hear them say here in St. Paul. LUCY L. UHL,
St. Paul, Minn.

Thank you, too, for THE CRISIS; I find it most interesting, and inspiring, and sad, too, in its solemn truths. But surely the spirit of its work must tell for good, and for great good, to the pathetic race it would help most, and to that other race which is so unjust, and therefore needs help, too.
BRAND WHITLOCK,
Mayor's Office, Toledo, Ohio.

Mother and I deliberately dropped our work and sat down and read and read till we have exhausted the contents, and applauded in very many instances, especially in reading "Along the Color Line," "Educational" and "Art" notes. We glory in the editorial on the protection of the Negro home. ALIDA GRAY,
Brookland, D. C.

I had hoped to confine the reading of THE CRISIS to our older students—it is valuable for them and the teachers—but the younger members of the school—sixth and seventh grade students—have taken hold of it. They do not appreciate it, and are only using its sad and tragic side as matters of sensational gossip. For that reason I must ask to have THE CRISIS discontinued from the March number.
Very truly yours,
GRACE MOSELEY,
Librarian St. Augustine's School,
Raleigh, N. C.

The July CRISIS will be the "Education Number." It will contain special news of colored colleges, with pictures, as well as articles of timely interest.

The August CRISIS will be "Vacation Number." We want fascinating fiction about colored folk. We shall be glad to pay for it.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION for the ADVANCEMENT of COLORED PEOPLE

OFFICES: Suite 311, 20 Vesey Street, New York. Incorporated May 25, 1911

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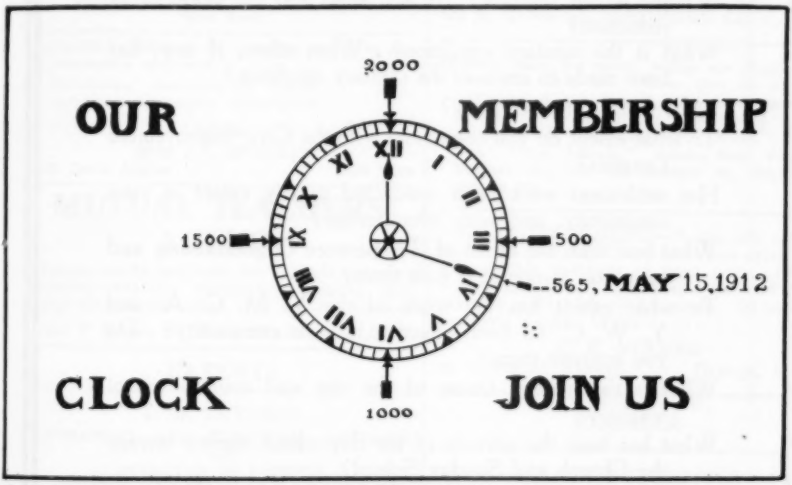

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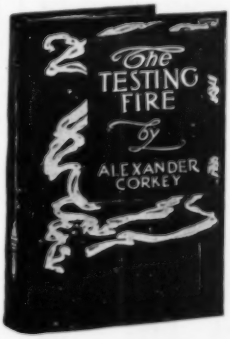

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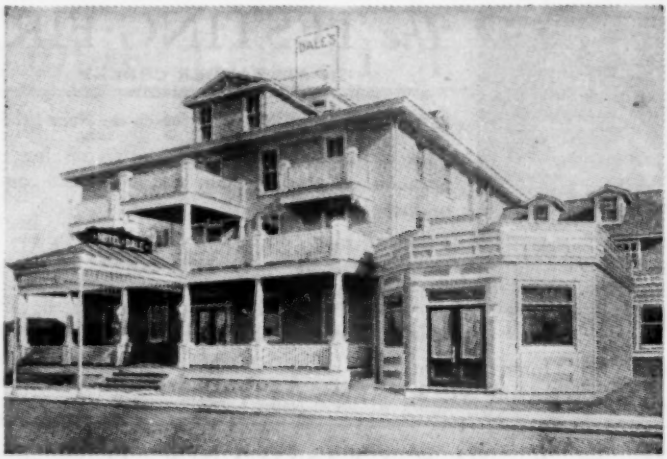

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